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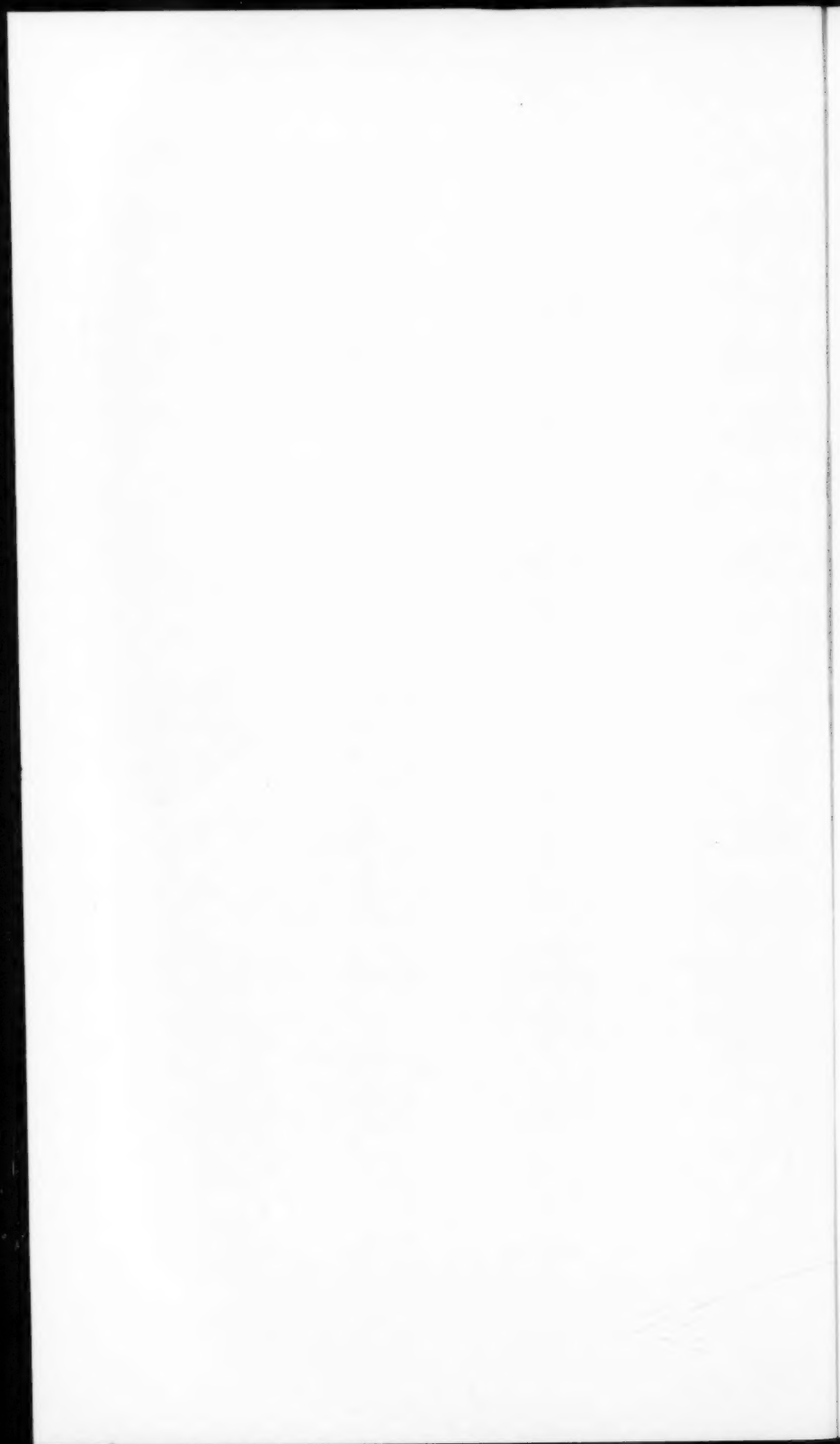




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## The Covenanters in the First Civil War

THE intervention of the Scots in the first Civil War was an important factor in the defeat of King Charles I, but the Covenanters never gained for their services the recognition for which they had hoped. A sudden and spectacular victory gained by them against the King, when Parliament had failed to defeat him, would have insured to them the dominating voice in the post-war settlement which they desired. The situation in England in the summer of 1643 and their own previous military record led them to count on this, and the buoyant boasting of their commander in chief, Lord Leven, to the French envoy reveals the confident mood in which they came to the help of the English.<sup>1</sup> But such a victory never came in the shape they had anticipated, and meanwhile attention was diverted from the substantial and continuous services that they rendered to their English allies partly by the achievements of the New Model Army, more still by the victories of Montrose in Scotland. Much has been written of the political and religious aspects of this uneasy alliance but its disappointing results for the Covenanters were the direct outcome of their failure to establish the military dominance over their allies which they had expected.

When King Charles returned to England in November 1641 after a three months' visit to Scotland he left, to govern the country in his name, a Council dominated by the Marquis of Argyll, the unofficial leader of the Covenanters, with his kinsman John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, as Chancellor. Charles had decided, with his usual optimism, that he would secure the support of his principal opponents by giving them positions of power. (He had won over Wentworth by this means early in his reign and seems to have regarded it as a safe rule of policy ever afterwards.)

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence of Montreuil* (Scottish History Society), ii, 550.

The outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland in mid-October had made it essential to take measures for the assistance of the Scots settlers in Ulster and the defence of the West coast against possible attack. The King had therefore issued several commissions for the raising of troops, including a comprehensive one to Argyll for the defence of the Highlands and Islands. He had thus set up in Scotland a government controlled by those who had strenuously opposed him in the past, and had given them a limited power—but a power none the less—to raise troops.

The King's interests on the Council were represented by the Marquis of Hamilton and his younger brother the Earl of Lanark who had been appointed Secretary of State in the summer of 1640. Hamilton, who maintained to the end of his disastrous career a mistaken faith in his own diplomatic ability, had recently cultivated a friendship with Argyll and believed that he could keep the situation in Scotland under control while the King dealt with his English problems.

In the months immediately following his departure from Scotland, the King's relations with his English Parliament rapidly deteriorated. After the failure of his attempt in January 1642 to re-assert his control over Parliament by arresting the 'Five Members' he fled from London and it was evident that civil war must be the outcome. His immediate appeal to his Council in Scotland for help and support met with an evasive answer and the suggestion that Argyll should come to discuss the situation with him.<sup>1</sup> The hesitation of the Council was not unjustified as the King was, as usual, conducting two contradictory policies at the same time; he had also written to Montrose (who was still under a charge of incendiarism) to indicate that he might need help.<sup>2</sup>

Further communication with the Council during the spring and summer proved equally unsatisfactory. Although the King, probably on the advice of Hamilton, now put his secondary policy into reverse and refused to see Montrose who tried to join him at York,<sup>3</sup> he still got no favourable response from the Council. In April the Chancellor Loudoun came to York, where he made it clear to the King that the Covenanters regarded him as the aggressor in the present trouble with Parliament. In

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vii, 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Second Report, 170.

<sup>3</sup> Spalding, *Memorialls of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club), ii, 141.

August the Council smoothly gave their approval to a petition put forward by the General Assembly of the Church for bringing England and Ireland into conformity of religion with Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's almost lethargic failure to represent the King's point of view on the Council during this difficult summer can be logically defended. He probably shared the optimistic belief of the King's more sanguine English supporters that the war with Parliament would be a matter of a single campaign ending in a resounding victory for the Cavaliers. If this was the outcome, then it did not much matter what happened meantime in Scotland. Short of armed intervention on Parliament's behalf, which could hardly be organised in time, the Covenanters could do little damage to the King.

Charles however missed his chance of marching on London immediately after Edgehill. The war stretched on into the following year and the Cavaliers in Scotland grew more anxious and more active. In February 1643 Montrose met the Queen at Bridlington on her return from the Netherlands, accompanied her to York and easily persuaded her that a rising for the King in Scotland was advisable in order to prevent an armed intervention in favour of Parliament.<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, with the King's support, vetoed the plan. He continued to argue that no intervention from Scotland was to be feared unless the King first provoked it.<sup>3</sup> In justice to him it must be remembered that he still believed that the English war could not last beyond the autumn; even if the Council in Edinburgh authorised the sending of help to Parliament they would be unlikely to implement the decision effectively before the end of the year. (His calculation in this respect was perfectly accurate, though Charles was in no mood to accept this excuse when Hamilton later put it forward as a defence of his policy.) Furthermore, Hamilton was hardly dealt with by his master, for although the King on his advice officially rejected Montrose's plan for a Royalist rising, the rest of his conduct could hardly be described as giving no provocation to Argyll and the Covenanters. He continued to encourage the Earl of Antrim, the chief of the Ulster Macdonalds, in an outrageous scheme which had been brewing ever since 1637 for the invasion of Argyll's country of Kintyre.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Privy Council*, vii, 249, 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Henry Guthry, late Bishop of Dunkeld* (Glasgow, 1747), 126; *Spalding's Memorials*, ii, 229-30.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, *Lives of the Dukes of Hamilton* (London, 1677), 212.

<sup>4</sup> See C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's Peace*, 224-5.

When Commissioners from Scotland led by Loudoun and Alexander Henderson waited on him at Oxford he received them with almost open hostility; their letters were systematically opened for censorship, they were molested in the streets by ill-mannered Cavaliers and there was some talk of arresting Henderson who seems not to have been adequately covered by a safe-conduct.<sup>1</sup> This kind of thing, reported back to Edinburgh, was no help to the Marquis of Hamilton in his effort to keep the Council neutral in the English war.

In April desultory peace negotiations between Charles and Parliament broke down and it became generally known, soon after, that he was aiming to make a truce with the Irish rebels so as to release the government troops in that country, (under the command of the loyalist Ormonde) to help him in England. It seems at least probable that Loudoun and his companions when in Oxford had heard more disturbing rumours—that the King was not only planning to bring over the government troops from Ireland but to enlist some of the Irish rebels themselves to fight in the English war. The plan had been suggested at the end of the previous year and the King's friends were never discreet.

Suspicion became certainty when in May 1643 a Scots patrol captured the Earl of Antrim as he crossed over to Ulster. Letters on his person revealed his project of bringing over his clansmen—well known as ferocious fighters in Ulster—to assist a Royalist rising in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> There was remarkably little point in the King's rejection of Montrose's plea for an open break with the Covenanters while he continued to encourage and privately authorise ventures of this kind. The Argyll government was, by the summer of 1643, justifiably anxious about his intentions towards them, and the more so that he appeared to be winning his English war.

On 22 June, contrary to the King's wish the Estates met in Edinburgh. No Commissioners from the English Parliament were present in Edinburgh on this occasion, and since there had been almost constant contact between the English Parliament and the Covenanters by means of commissioners since the autumn of 1640 the omission was a cause of some anxiety.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (Bannatyne Club), ii, 66f; Clarendon, vi, 335, 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of the Privy Council*, vii, 442-4; *Historical MSS. Commission, Portland MSS.*, i, 121-2.

<sup>3</sup> Baillie, *op. cit.*, ii, 79.



was ascribed to the heavy pressure of affairs in England where things were going badly for Parliament. In May a serious Royalist plot had convulsed London; in early June the victorious Cornish Royalists had made a junction with cavalry sent from Oxford and were pushing Parliament's general, Sir William Waller, out of Somerset; on 18 June Prince Rupert slashed right through the Parliamentary blockade of Oxford and demoralised the army of the Earl of Essex. A few days later John Hampden died of wounds received in this action, thus depriving Parliament of the man who, above all others, had maintained a smooth relationship between the House of Commons and their touchy general the Earl of Essex. Furious recriminations now broke out, culminating in a threat of resignation from Essex. On 30 June, eight days after the Estates met in Edinburgh, the northern Parliamentary forces under the two Fairfaxes were crushingly defeated at Adwalton Moor leaving the Cavaliers dominant in the north of England.

The other disasters of the Parliamentary party in England were a cause for modified anxiety; but Adwalton Moor brought the war dangerously close to Scotland. If the Cavaliers in Scotland, with Irish help, were to start anything now they might easily be supported from south of the Border. The King's forces were occupying Newcastle, Durham and Carlisle and there was no longer any effective Parliamentary force to keep them in check. The loyalty of the landowners on the Border to the Edinburgh government was very uncertain: Roxburgh was notoriously involved with the Cavaliers, Douglas was a Roman Catholic. A few days after the news of Adwalton Moor a proposal of alliance was sent to the English Parliament at Westminster.<sup>1</sup>

On the very day on which it was despatched, 14 July 1643, the Parliamentarian general for the South-west, Sir William Waller, was totally routed by the Royalist cavalry on Roundway Down. Before the Scots proposal reached London the Queen rejoined the King at Oxford with large supplies of arms, Prince Rupert stormed and took Bristol, a serious Royalist rising broke out in Parliament's rear, in Kent, and the northern Royalists poured into Lincolnshire and threatened the solid Parliamentarian bloc of East Anglia. An outcry for peace threatened Pym's control over Parliament itself, and the two generals Essex and Waller furiously accused each other but did nothing to stem the

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journals*, iii, 183.

flood of Royalist victory. An offer of alliance, coming at this moment from the Scots, the hardiest soldiers in Europe, was to John Pym an answer to prayer.

Commissioners, led by Harry Vane the younger, were despatched at once to Edinburgh—by sea, of course, the land-route was impassible. Had there been any room for doubt of the now desperate state of Parliament's fortunes it would have been dispelled by the tone of anguish in which the English ministers of the Westminster Assembly<sup>1</sup> appealed to their brethren of the Church of Scotland to use all their endeavours to expedite the alliance which alone could rescue them from destruction at the hands of 'a generation of brutish, hellish men'.<sup>2</sup> As they listened to this appeal, recorded the good Dr Baillie, most amiable and trusting of men, he and many of his colleagues were moved to tears.<sup>3</sup> There was indeed little exaggeration in the appeal, and the genuine sympathy felt by those who listened to it must have been tinged with apprehension as to what would happen if the godly party in England were indeed overwhelmed. The King at the head of a formidable army would then have his hands free to deal with Scotland, and few of the Covenanting leaders can have imagined by this time that his previous concessions to them had been either willing or sincere.

Under the pressure of a common danger the alliance came into being with astonishing speed. By the middle of August the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant had been drafted, and arrangements for raising an army of twenty thousand men, to be paid by the English Parliament, were efficiently and rapidly made. The Covenanters were not, of course, making war on the King; they claimed to intend no more than his rescue from the 'popish and prelatial faction' which had gained control of him.<sup>4</sup> It was thus possible for Lord Leven, the commander in chief, who had taken an oath never again to fight against the King, to undertake to lead the army into England with a clear conscience. He had, as he explained, always observed the right to oppose the King again if religion or his country's rights were in hazard, as by this time they most evidently were.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Westminster Assembly had met in June partly in response to the Covenanters' petition (mentioned above) that the Churches of the three kingdoms might be brought into conformity.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, i, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Baillie, *op. cit.*, ii, 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal.S.P.Dom*, 1644, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Baillie, *op. cit.*, ii, 100.



In spite of their immediate community of interests, the Covenanters and the Parliamentarians were well aware of their long-term differences. The King had warned the Scots in a message that spring that if they assisted Parliament they would secure the victory not of Presbyterians but of Anabaptists and antinomians.<sup>1</sup> But in fact during the discussions with the English Commissioners in August no secret was made of the differences in religion between them. Vane, although he made a good impression by his seriousness and sincerity, was well-known to be in sympathy with the sectaries and to have held religious views himself which were far from Presbyterian in colour. Among the ministers who accompanied him on his mission to Edinburgh was Philip Nye, a leading Independent who caused considerable annoyance by preaching in Grey Friars 'upon a knowledge of God as God, without the Scriptures, without Grace, without Christ'.<sup>2</sup>

The English Commissioners did not in the first place see why God had to be a party to the alliance. In Robert Baillie's words, they were 'for a civil league, we for a religious Covenant'.<sup>3</sup> The English gave in, and the Solemn League and Covenant, as finally agreed, was not a mere alliance between two nations or parties, as Philip Nye was to point out in his sermon when it was signed at Westminster; it was an oath of 'fealty and allegiance unto Christ the King of Kings', solemnly sworn by both sides.<sup>4</sup>

The principal clause of the new Covenant concerned religion. The express purpose of the alliance was to preserve both countries alike from the yoke of prelacy. (The political ends for which the English were also fighting were of no real concern to the Scots.) The English, in religion, wanted to keep 'a door open' to Independency. To this the Scots vehemently objected.<sup>5</sup> The clause of the Solemn League and Covenant which deals with religion is very nearly explicit on this point: very nearly, but not quite. Though it is well known it is worth quoting once more in its entirety. Both parties swore:

that we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine,

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, i, 429-33.

<sup>2</sup> Baillie, ii, 97.

<sup>3</sup> Baillie, ii, 90.

<sup>4</sup> *The Covenant with a Narrative of the Manner of taking It* (London, 1643).

<sup>5</sup> Baillie, ii, 90ff.

worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government according to the Word of God and the examples of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.<sup>1</sup>

It was later reported that Vane had thought of the formula 'according to the Word of God' to make a loophole for Independency. He may have done so, and certainly this is the only ambiguous phrase to be found. Even so, the preceding part of the clause insists on the maintenance of the existing Church of Scotland, and the last part of the clause requires that the religion of the three kingdoms be brought into 'the nearest conjunction and uniformity'. Between them, these two statements would seem to shut out the sects. The clause as finally drafted can hardly be said to leave the door ajar for Independency; it was at best not locked, barred and bolted.

Independent sympathisers in England do, however, seem to have built a good deal on this one slight phrase. On the occasion of the signing of the Covenant by Parliament Philip Nye laid great emphasis on the reform of religion according to 'whatsoever the Word of God should discover'. Alexander Henderson, immediately tried to correct this impression by firmly emphasising that the Church of Scotland was the model they ought to follow.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly a number of Independents, including Vane and Oliver Cromwell, must have used this phrase to justify their taking of the Covenant, and Vane, many years later on the scaffold, averred with evident sincerity that he had always been faithful to the Covenant as he understood it. A few Independents of stricter views, among whom was John Lilburne, refused to take it, and there must have been some of all religions in England who agreed, though silently, with John Selden's cool and frivolous comment that oaths were best taken like pills, without chewing.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, v, 475.

<sup>2</sup> *The Covenant with the Manner of taking It*.

<sup>3</sup> Selden, *Table-talk* (ed. Reynolds, London, 1892), 123

But the Covenanters had very strong grounds for believing that they would have no difficulty, when the war ended, in suppressing the Independents. In 1643 no one could have foretold that the Parliamentary army would become a formidable instrument of the sects. Its principal generals were all still moderate men, and some of them Presbyterian sympathisers, and its record was far from brilliant. As to the question of religious reform, the Assembly which had been called at Westminster to purify the English Church was predominantly Presbyterian, and as soon as the alliance came into being the Scots were themselves strongly represented in it. The Independent minority might be troublesome, but on a straight vote they would always be defeated.

But the Covenanters built their hopes most firmly on the idea of a military victory of which they would be the architects. They had been called in to save a desperate situation. They had an international reputation as soldiers and their army would be commanded by veterans of great distinction who had already defeated the King in 1640. They did not doubt that their present intervention would be decisive and that, as military victors, they would have a dominating position when it came to the post-war settlement. It was in this mood that they rejected the rather clumsy efforts of the French envoy to dissuade them from intervention in England, Lord Leven going so far as to talk airily of planting Presbyterianism in Paris and Rome when they had dealt with the papists and prelatists of England.<sup>1</sup> This was empty boasting, but it indicated the mood of the moment and a fundamentally serious belief that the army of the Covenant might complete what the army of Gustavus Adolphus had begun for the Protestant Cause in Europe.

Almost from the beginning things went wrong. The time of extreme peril during which the alliance had been worked out, in August 1643, had passed even before the formal signing of the Covenant at Westminster in late September. The King had been checked at Gloucester and compelled to fall back at Newbury; he could not capture London that year. It was true that the situation was still very uneasy, with a Royalist force thrusting south into Sussex trying to seize the iron foundries, but the immediate danger had slackened. As Parliament grew less desperate for help, it became a more exacting and less grateful ally.

The Londoners were clamouring for coal, which they could

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence of Montreuil*, ii, 550.

not get while Newcastle was in the King's hands. The Scots were shipping occasional supplies from Fife which did not meet the enormous London demand.<sup>1</sup> It was hoped therefore that the Scots would immediately capture Newcastle and thus release the choked supply. But when the army of the Covenanters crossed the Border in January 1644 Newcastle, well-fortified and stedfastly defended, defied their summons. In bad weather the siege went forward slowly and the Londoners settled down, grumbling, to another long winter over fires of turf and dung.

This was the first disappointment. The very reputation of the Scots began to tell against them. Miracles were expected of them, as Dr Baillie complained, and there was unconcealed annoyance when the miracles did not happen.<sup>2</sup> Worse was to follow the check at Newcastle. The Commissioners sent to Parliament by the Covenanters were now joined with a small group from the English Parliament to form the Committee of Both Kingdoms,<sup>3</sup> the small, inner council which directed the war. The Scots not unnaturally had faith in their own military judgment. It was on their advice that the Committee ordered a concentration of effort against the town of Newark, an important point on the Great North Road strongly held by the Royalists. In March Prince Rupert, by what was probably the most brilliant action of his career, surprised and surrounded the besieging force, capturing all the arms and guns which had been diverted by Parliament to this operation. The disaster was so grave that the Committee of Both Kingdoms was compelled to meet on the Sabbath to discuss what could be done to redeem it, and the English looked very glumly at their Scots allies.<sup>4</sup>

Appearances were deceptive. Although the Scots had done nothing spectacular so far, their presence alone had gravely lessened the chances of the English Royalists who had not the reserves to deal with two enemies at once. Rupert, on his return from Newark received an appeal from the King's general in the North, the Marquis of Newcastle, gloomily predicting total disaster unless substantial help could be sent to him.<sup>5</sup> Although

<sup>1</sup> See Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, ii, 158-9.

<sup>2</sup> Baillie, ii, 156.

<sup>3</sup> The nature and establishment of the Committee of Both Kingdoms have been fully discussed by Professor Wallace Notestein in the *American Historical Review*, 1912, pp. 477-95; J. H. Hexter, in his *Reign of King Pym* (Harvard, 1940), suggests some modifications of the Notestein thesis.

<sup>4</sup> Baillie, ii, 156, 158; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1644, pp. 60-1.

<sup>5</sup> Warburton, *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* (London, 1849), ii, 397.

they had not taken Newcastle, the Scots were advancing into Durham by the beginning of April. By the end of the month they had made a junction with the Parliamentary forces under the two Fairfaxes and shut the Marquis of Newcastle in York. This meant that the King would somehow have to recruit, or detach from his army in the South, a force large enough to rescue the Marquis of Newcastle and restore the situation in the North. A very heavy strain was thus put on his limited resources. The Londoners might grumble about the lack of coal, and the English members of the Committee look black about Newark, but simply by crossing the Border the Scots had tipped the balance steeply against the King. A situation like that of the previous summer, with the King's forces converging from three directions on London could never recur.

This was not, however, the spectacular triumph for which the Scots had hoped, and throughout the spring and early summer no opportunity arose to show their outstanding merits. Then on 5 July 1644 news reached London that Prince Rupert, after a victorious march northward to relieve York, had been totally defeated at Marston Moor. It was immediately assumed by the Scots Commissioners that this victory was largely the achievement of their army. Three days later handsome Major Harrison arrived in London to tell all and sundry that the victory had been won by Oliver Cromwell and his cavalry.<sup>1</sup>

In fact the victory at Marston Moor was a joint triumph. The charge which took Rupert by surprise was launched, on his own initiative, by Cromwell. Rupert might have rallied, especially as Cromwell was incapacitated at a critical moment by a slight wound. But David Leslie, with his eight hundred Scots cavalry, seconded Cromwell's attack with such extraordinary skill and persistence that Rupert was driven off the field. The victory over Rupert's cavalry might not have been decisive. On the further wing, the Royalist Goring had scattered the Parliamentary and Scots cavalry, so that Lord Fairfax and Lord Leven both fled, believing the battle lost. But a part of the Scots infantry in the centre under General William Baillie, held their ground with magnificent endurance, and it was their stand which made it possible for Cromwell, after sweeping round the rear of the Royalist infantry, to attack and defeat Goring's cavalry as it returned to the field.

More significant than the part they played in the battle was

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, ii, 208-9, 218.



the incontrovertible fact that there would not have been a battle at all, or at least not on that scale, if the Scots had not intervened on the side of Parliament. It was their presence alone that compelled the King to risk his best troops and the reputation of his army in this fatal attempt to redeem the situation in the North.

Yet such an argument, even if it was understood by their English allies, was of less effect in securing their gratitude than a striking success in the field would have been. To a great extent the Covenanters *had* saved the situation, but it was not apparent that they had. Even so their prestige, shaken by the disappointments of the winter and spring would have recovered after Marston Moor, Cromwell notwithstanding, had it not been for the sudden appearance of Montrose behind their lines.

Antrim's Irish clansmen had landed in the summer, about eleven hundred of them. Montrose making his way to the Highlands in disguise took command and made them into the nucleus of his Highland army. By the autumn it was known in London that the Covenanters had been twice defeated in their own country by this new enemy. Officially, they minimised the trouble, but reports of Montrose's victories came through from Oxford; *Mercurius Aulicus*, the King's official news-sheet, was generally available on the black market. By the autumn it was thought necessary to send Loudoun to Westminster to counteract the effect that Montrose's actions were having on the prestige of the Covenanters with their allies.<sup>1</sup>

The reorganisation of the Parliamentary forces during the winter and early spring and the creation of the New Model Army was thus punctuated by recurrent bad news from Scotland. By the end of the year Montrose had penetrated to Argyll's stronghold at Inveraray and was laying waste his country. General William Baillie with a contingent of troops had to be released from the Scots forces in England to assist in quelling him. But the first news after his return to Scotland was of the crushing defeat of the Campbells by Montrose at Inverlochy on 2 February 1645.

During these weeks the Scots Commissioners in England, increasingly alarmed at the influence of the Independents, were evolving a scheme, with the help of those among their English colleagues who feared the political consequences of an independent victory, to make a Presbyterian alliance with the King which would alter the direction of the war and turn it into a joint

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, ii, pp. 225, 227.

attack on Independency. This secret scheme never had much hope of success; nor had the open and official negotiations for peace which took place at Uxbridge in February. The King was wholly disinclined to make any concessions whatever to the Presbyterian point of view.

It was commonly said among the Scots Commissioners at the time that the reports from Montrose, by giving undue encouragement to the King, were fatal to these negotiations. It does indeed appear that the despatch from Inverlochy reached the King immediately before the negotiations were broken off. This view, expressed by Robert Baillie at the time and handed on by Lauderdale (himself one of the Treaty Commissioners) to Burnet, has become something of a truism in histories of the period. But in fact the instructions given by the King to his Commissioners before the Treaty started, which were written long before the arrival of Montrose's despatch, make it very clear that Charles never intended the negotiations to succeed. Though he was no doubt cheered by the progress of his champion in Scotland (a full account of Montrose's exploits of the previous autumn had been printed in Oxford during the winter), this was not a decisive factor in his policy. His hopes, remarkably sanguine as was usual with him, were founded in a belief that his English enemies were irreconcilably divided and that the reorganisation of their army could not possibly succeed<sup>1</sup>.

The real damage that Montrose was inflicting on the cause of the Covenanters was of a different kind. The encouragement that he gave to the King was less important in altering the balance of the situation than the hammer-blows that he was striking at the military reputation of the Covenanters. Bitter words were already being spoken by their English allies who complained that their much-vaunted army was not worth the cost.<sup>2</sup> In April, when Montrose raided Dundee and evaded the force sent to surprise him, the Scots Commissioners at Westminster succeeded in announcing a victory for their side, but they were not altogether believed.<sup>3</sup> In May Montrose was victorious at Auldearn; in July General Baillie (who had done such good service at Marston Moor) was overwhelmingly defeated at Alford.

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the King's attitude to the Treaty of Uxbridge and given the evidence for it in *The King's War*, pp. 408-12, 418.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, *Additional MSS.*, 5461, Sabran's Despatches, ii, folio 176.

<sup>3</sup> Whitelocke, *Memorials* (London, 1682), 137.

By this time Robert Baillie in London had been driven to question the inscrutable ways of Providence in permitting the troops of the Covenant to be five times defeated by 'the worst men in the earth'.<sup>1</sup> His fellow Commissioners were equally at a loss, and sought anxiously to discover, in prayer to the Lord, 'why our forces there have received defeat upon defeat even these five times from a despicable and inconsiderable enemy, while the forces of this nation obtained victory upon victory'.<sup>2</sup> Worse was to come in August, when Montrose's triumph at Kilsyth forced Argyll himself to flee to Berwick, and left Glasgow and Edinburgh open to the victor.

All this was in painful contrast to the fortunes of the New Model Army which, with Cromwell, the 'darling of the sectaries', in command of the cavalry, had broken the King's main army at Naseby in June, savaged his Western forces at Langport in July, and early in September taken Bristol.

Less than a month after Kilsyth David Leslie, hastening back to Scotland with his cavalry, totally defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh. By then it was too late to undo the damage to the prestige of the Covenanters. The war against King Charles had been won in England by an army in which the Independents were dominant just precisely at the time when the fortunes of the Covenanters in their own country were at their lowest. This was the exact reverse of the situation foreseen when they entered into alliance with the English, and the ultimate defeat of Montrose could do nothing to give them back the position of military authority on which they had counted to maintain their moral dominance over their allies.

In sober fact their entry into the war had been of the greatest help to Parliament. The King's chances of victory had been instantly reduced by their invasion which compelled him to divide his forces and take undue risks in order to assist his supporters in the North. But, as is often the case between military allies, this kind of help is under-estimated, while a victory in the field, though it may be of far less real significance, commands respect and gratitude.

In 1643 it had seemed almost a certainty that the resolute army of the Covenant, efficiently organised and led by professional soldiers of high reputation would do for the stricken cause

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, ii, 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London, 1644-6* (ed. H. W. Meikle, Roxburghe Club, 1917), 97.



of Parliament what Gustavus Adolphus had done for the stricken Protestant Cause in Europe twelve years earlier. It did not happen that way. It is permissible to wonder whether the intense animosity felt by the Covenanters for Montrose (and often reflected in the writings of historians of Covenanting sympathies) may arise not merely from the alleged barbarity of his troops—the reason usually given—but from a deep resentment at the irreparable damage that he did, at a critical time, to their military reputation with the English.

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<sup>1</sup> Author of *The King's War* and *The King's Peace*.

## The Scottish Australian Company, 1840-50

### The origins and growth of an Aberdeen venture in colonial development

THE importance of companies formed in Britain to colonise and develop great tracts of Australia in the early part of the nineteenth century has long been recognised. In Britain and in Australia historians have examined in detail the formation and workings of the Australian Agricultural Company, founded in 1824 to develop the pastoral industry in New South Wales, and of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's South Australian Association of 1834, which was to found the Colony of South Australia.

Of equal importance was the Scottish Australian Company, a specifically Scottish venture into colonial development, which was one of the few early ventures that lasted and succeeded. The circumstances of its formation and the nature of its early struggles and difficulties throw revealing light on conditions in both Scotland and Australia in the 1840's. At that time the poorness and infrequency of communications between Britain and Australia made necessary the sending of long, detailed, duplicated letters and reports between the Company's Directors and Agents in Scotland and its Managers in the Colonies. To this is due the existence of a remarkable, unbroken series of correspondence, full of information on the commercial and economic background in both countries for over half a century.<sup>1</sup>

In its earliest stages, the venture was less a Scottish one than an Aberdeen one. In 1822 a Scot from Aberdeen, Lesslie Duguid, arrived in Australia, then ruled by Governor Lachlan Macquarie. Duguid, like most of the free settlers, took up 'pastoral pursuits', but, after ten years of life as a 'squatter', he determined to take advantage of the opportunities that awaited the man of business

<sup>1</sup> The early records of the Company, covering the period 1840-1914, were handed over to the Business Archives Council of Australia in 1956, and are now deposited in the University of Sydney. They are referred to henceforward as S.A.C.

in the expanding commercial centre of Sydney, the colonial capital. In September 1834 he took the lead, as 'interim secretary', in an association of merchants, landholders and professional men which aimed at founding a bank 'to be conducted on the principle of the Scotch banks'.<sup>1</sup> Two months later, enough support was forthcoming from the prosperous town and its environs for 'The Commercial Banking Company of Sydney' to begin operations with Duguid as General Manager. The Scottish principles of 'cash credits' and solid guarantees appear to have attracted much business and the concern flourished, weathering the frequent slumps, panics and depressions that the Colony suffered in the 1840's. The Commercial Bank of Scotland, with the London Joint Stock Bank, represented the new Sydney bank in Britain.

From the early correspondence of the Scottish Australian Company, it appears that Duguid wrote regularly in the late 1830's to friends and business acquaintances in Aberdeen. He gave glowing accounts of 'the wonderful aptitude of this colony to absorb capital without bringing down or altering the rate of interest'. Duguid was optimistic about the Colony's prospects, foreseeing 'no reason for the rate of interest to fall for many years'. From his experience in the Colony, he stated that the banks alone kept down interest rates, and that, 'without their aid the fair market value of money is about twenty per cent'.<sup>2</sup> This was an attractive picture for the Scottish, or any, investor.

Duguid's reports reached Aberdeen at a time when an optimistic view of the future prevailed in business circles. The crisis of 1837 had been weathered. By 1839 the four great flax-spinning mills around the city were in full operation, employing three thousand operatives, while an additional four thousand workers were employed in other processes connected with the flax industry.<sup>3</sup> The quarrying of granite, ship-building and herring fishing, with its attendant packing trade, were employing more and more people, and showed prospects of further increase. Whaling, for long a profitable field for the investors of Aberdeen and the north-east, had declined, thus creating a need for outlets for investment that was made more

<sup>1</sup> Public announcement in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 September 1834.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: copy letter from Duguid, Sydney, to John Cadenhead, Aberdeen, 17 April 1841.

<sup>3</sup> L. J. Saunders, *Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840*, 130.

urgent by the rapidly-accumulating profits of the flax and linen industry. Duguid's encouragements to his fellow townsmen in Scotland came very opportunely. He suggested the formation of an Investment Company, and in October 1839 the North British Australasian Loan and Investment Company was formed in Aberdeen. Little is known of the structure or the activities of this venture. In 1840, its manager in the Colonies, J. F. Beattie, an Aberdeen land surveyor, began business in Sydney,<sup>1</sup> but, after a few years of advancing loans to pastoralists, the Company transferred its activities to New Zealand, where the opportunities probably appealed more strongly to Beattie.

Duguid continued to press for further Aberdeen investment in Australia, and his statement in a letter subsequently written to the Aberdeen surgeon, Robert Cadenhead, that he could add forty per cent to the capital of an investment company in a year, if he were given the handling of its Australian business, indicates that he aimed at acting as Australian Manager for such a company.<sup>2</sup> Duguid was inclined to be a speculator as well as an optimist. The establishment of a steamship service between Sydney and the townships on the lower Hunter River nearby, was enough to cause him to buy several thousands of unproductive acres in the area. His over-optimism and rashness were eventually to lead to charges of embezzlement being made against him by the directors of the bank he had founded. Fortunately the Aberdeen investors disregarded his suggestion that they should appoint him Manager of their new company in the Colony.

The Scottish business connection with Australia, before Duguid's suggestions were followed in 1839 and 1840, had been slight. A company had been formed in Leith in 1822 with the title 'The Australian Company'. It ran ships to Van Diemen's Land carrying Scottish immigrants out, and wool, timber and whale-oil on the return voyage. By the 1830's the passenger trade had slackened and the Company was sending only occasional ships to freight Australian wool when the European trade had fallen off.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the local conditions in Aberdeen and the north-east, which had created funds for investment, and the need for

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: letter from Alexander Stronach and Charles Grainger, Cashiers and Agents, Aberdeen, to R. A. Morehead, Sydney, 20 January 1849.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: copy letter from L. Duguid, Sydney, to Sydney Cadenhead, Aberdeen, 17 April 1841.

<sup>3</sup> R. W. Gibbin, *Early History of Tasmania*, ii, 235.

fresh outlets for new investment, news of the booming sheep and wool industry in New South Wales had already reached Britain. The knowledge that vast areas of new land could be occupied, and sheep depastured there for payment of a trivial licence fee, was attracting would-be pastoralists, many of them the younger sons of landed families, many of them Scots. Scottish investors were aware by 1839 of the profits being made in this pursuit. In addition, the passing of the Interest Act of 1834 had resulted in a general rise of interest rates on foreign investments.

In the autumn of 1840 a movement was under way in Aberdeen to promote another company to carry on an investment business in Australia. The leaders of the movement were two advocates, Alexander Stronach and Charles Grainger. The other interested parties were, like the two advocates, residents of Aberdeen. From the early correspondence of the Company, it appears that several of them were Directors of the Galena Investment Company, a Scottish company, formed in the early 1830's to make investments in the United States, which had prospered and which was by now paying handsome dividends.<sup>1</sup>

Funds for the new company were sought from all over Scotland, and in London. Notices in the press, handbills and personal letters from the promoters were used, and, by 6 November 1840, 348 people had intimated that they would subscribe £29,830 towards the capital stock of the company. This was a heartening response for the Aberdeen promoters, and on 7 November the company was duly constituted as 'The Scottish Australian Investment Company'. Stronach, Grainger, and the others promoting the new venture had decided to drop the word 'Insurance', which had appeared in the public announcements and advertisements, on the advice of Duguid who had written from Sydney of the risks involved in insurance in the colonies, and of the apathy of colonists on the subject. He had recommended concentration on the mortgage business 'where returns of 12½ per cent may be had without difficulty'.<sup>2</sup>

On 9 November the first General Meeting of the Company was held at the Royal Hotel, Aberdeen. A Contract of Copartnery, drawn up by Stronach and Grainger, was put before the

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: letter from Alexander Stronach and Charles Grainger, Aberdeen, to R. A. Morehead, Sydney, 18 December 1841.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: letter from L. Duguid, Sydney, to John Cadenhead, Aberdeen, 17 April 1841.

shareholders. A printed copy of this contract, with an account of proceedings at the meeting, is one of the interesting foundation documents among the Company's records in Sydney. The reason for the establishment of the Company, as set out in this contract, was that 'the parties, considering the great returns obtained for the employment of capital in Australia and the neighbouring British Colonies and Settlements as compared with what can be obtained for it in Britain, and that it will be for their mutual advantage to establish a Joint-Stock Company for the purpose of raising a fund to be invested in Australia and the said British Colonies and Settlements by the Company's officers . . . have resolved and agreed to form themselves into a society or copartnership under the designation of 'The Scottish Australian Investment Company' for the purposes after mentioned'.<sup>1</sup> The purposes were two—'The acquiring of land, either by purchase or otherwise, and of other property, real and personal, for re-sale, or letting out for agricultural or grazing operations, or such other use and purpose as may, from time to time, be deemed most beneficial for the interest of the Company; and also, the granting of loans or advances on the mortgage of real property . . .'.<sup>2</sup>

The capital of the Company was fixed at £100,000, in one hundred thousand shares of one pound each. Sixty thousand shares remained unsold on the day of this first general meeting. Provision was made in the Contract of Copartnery for the government of the Company and the management of its activities abroad. The controlling body was to be a Board of Extraordinary Directors, fourteen in number. They were without exception professional men, landowners or military officers. As listed in the Contract they were, 'The Very Reverend Dr William Jack, Principal of King's College; Doctor Alexander Ewing of Tartowie; William Munro, Esquire, of Bellefield, Inverness; William McCombie, Esquire, of Easter Skene; Doctor Robert Daun of Drummond Place, Edinburgh; James Donald, Esquire, of Dorlaithers; Andrew Black, Esquire, of Forresterhill; William Stewart, Esquire, of Carnaveron, Stonehaven; James Struthers, Esquire, of Avonholm, Lanarkshire; Peter Russell, Esquire, Kininmonth House; Andrew Ligertwood, Esquire, of Watridgemuir; William

<sup>1</sup> 'Contract of Copartnery of the Scottish Australian Investment Company' (printed by George Cornwall, Victoria Court, Aberdeen, 1841), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.



Humphrey, Esquire, of Cuttlehill; Captain James Cameron, Chanonry, Old Aberdeen; and John Cadenhead, Esquire, Surgeon, Aberdeen'.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of James Struthers, landowner in Lanarkshire, and Dr Daun of Edinburgh, the Extraordinary Directors all resided in the north-east, and four of them in Aberdeen. The preponderance of Aberdeenshire was even more marked on the Board of fourteen Ordinary Directors, all of whom resided in Aberdeen. The Extraordinary Directors were all men of substance, nine of them landowners. Of the Ordinary Directors, eight were advocates, and six engaged in trade. The Contract named them, 'Thomas Sangster, Advocate; Alexander Irvine, Merchant; Peter Williamson, Druggist; James Murray, Advocate; Harvey Hall, Merchant; John Webster, Advocate; Thomas Best, Wine Merchant; William Robinson, Advocate; Leslie Cruickshank, Merchant; John Duncan, Advocate; James Muir, Advocate; Henry Adamson, Merchant; and the said Alexander Stronach and Charles Grainger, Advocates, the Cashiers and Agents of the Company'.<sup>2</sup>

It seems probable that the fourteen Extraordinary Directors were chosen for the higher prestige that the company would gain through giving publicity to their names. Three of them were the largest shareholders—James Donald of Dorlaithers, Dr Robert Daun of Edinburgh and James Struthers of Avonholm, each with one thousand shares—but other six of the fourteen held only one hundred shares apiece.<sup>3</sup> The Board of Ordinary Directors, being resident in Aberdeen, where all Board meetings and annual General Meetings were to be held, was intended to be the effective governing body, but the events of the next few years were to show that the Extraordinary Directors, especially Dr Daun, were not to be content to remain as respectable ornaments for the Company, but on occasion could be strongly critical of the management of affairs in the colonies.

An interesting provision was made in the Contract of Copartnery empowering the Ordinary Directors to sell three thousand shares, or any other number of shares they deemed expedient, to colonists who might, at the Directors' discretion, be appointed to a Committee of Management in Australia.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> S.A.C.: manuscript share-list of the Scottish Australian Investment Company, 11 February 1841.

This showed an amazingly liberal attitude for a British investment company of the time which contemplated investment overseas, for it envisaged devolution of control; not surprisingly the Committee of Management in Australia was a long time in contemplation before it was established; and not until the late 1850's, when the Company had safely passed through the dangers and difficulties of its period of settling down in the colonies, did the Board in Aberdeen permit the formation of the Australian Committee. All disputes arising among the partners, Directors and officers of the Company were to be referred to 'the amicable decision, final sentence and decreet arbitral' of the Sheriff of Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup>

The Aberdeen law office of Alexander Stronach and Charles Grainger, advocates in partnership, was to become the headquarters of the Company. Both held five hundred shares, both were ordinary directors, and they were jointly named in the Contract as agents and cashiers with very full discretionary powers. They were to receive a commission on the profits from the Company's transactions in Australia.

The Contract provided for the employment of a further two officers—a manager and an accountant in Australia. The first post was to be held by Robert Archibald Morehead, a young Scot who had some mercantile experience in Van Diemen's Land. Morehead purchased a thousand shares late in 1840, perhaps as a condition of his appointment. On his abilities the fortunes of the Company were to depend, for with a four-months' voyage between Britain and Australia the quick making of important decisions in Australia inevitably devolved on him. Fortunately for the Company, the Contract gave Morehead a good deal of latitude in Australia, and he had the strength of character to refuse to follow completely the lines that the Board in Aberdeen, or the anxious Stronach and Grainger, occasionally tried to lay down in their timidity, or ignorance, of the colonial situation.

The Company's manuscript share-list of 11 February 1841 (when the capital subscribed had risen from £40,000 to £60,000) is a revealing document. It indicates clearly the democratic nature of Scottish investment of the period. In it every class in the community of Aberdeen and the north-east is represented. Of the 416 people holding shares, 185 lived in the city of Aberdeen, and eighty-seven in Aberdeenshire.

<sup>1</sup> 'Contract of Copertnery', *ut cit.*, p. 6.



The remainder resided in the shires of Banff, Moray, Inverness, Perth, Angus, Kincardine, Fife, Stirling, Midlothian, Lanark and Renfrew, with a great preponderance in the north-east. Three shareholders lived in London and two in Hobart, Van Diemen's Land. Their occupations ranged from bank-tellers to bakers, coach-guards to clothiers, salmon fishers to sextons, and shoemakers to ships' stewards. The list includes the Principal and a professor of King's College, and the porter of Marischal College. In it appear the names and share-holdings of fifty-one merchants, twenty-two doctors and surgeons and thirty advocates, solicitors and writers. This last, legal category had the highest average share-holdings of the major occupational groups.

Other groups which figure largely on the share-list are ten schoolmasters, eleven ministers of the church, eighteen married women or widows, thirty-seven unmarried women, thirty-six shopkeepers, ninety farmers or small landholders, forty-four artisans and six clerks. Four manufacturers appear in the list, and one distiller. In accordance with the custom of the time no provision was made in the contract of Copartnery for the women shareholders to vote at meetings, except by proxy.

In view of the wide representation of all classes of the community, the size of holdings naturally varied greatly. Many artisans and labourers held five or ten shares only. The six largest shareholders each held a thousand shares. Voting was on the basis of 'one share, one vote'. The average number of shares held by the 416 persons on the list is 123. The speed with which more than sixty thousand pounds were subscribed, and the participation in the Company of so many people of the working classes, clearly demonstrates the great potentiality for capital investment existing in north-east Scotland in 1840, as well as the traditional thrift and venturesomeness of its people.

From the very beginning of his voyage<sup>1</sup> to start up the Company's business in Australia, Morehead was receiving letters from Stronach and Grainger in Aberdeen. At sea off Ryde he received a letter raising the question of obtaining a Royal Charter for the Company. Three months later, in July 1841, while Morehead and his accountant, Matthew Young, were still en route for Melbourne, Stronach and Grainger again

<sup>1</sup> Morehead took with him a 'ready-made portable cottage, a large iron safe and a copying machine'. Housing was notoriously scarce and poor in the colonies and Morehead, experienced, went prepared.

wrote at length, optimistically, of the Company's prospects, pointing out that the coming-in of Peel's government would probably stimulate trade. A letter had been received at the Aberdeen office from Beattie, Australian Manager of the rival North British Australasian Investment Company, stating that there was 'room for both our companies' in the colonies, but, while urging Morehead to 'seize every opportunity' of advancing the Company's interests, Stronach and Grainger at the same time urged 'caution and weighty deliberation' before making decisions.<sup>1</sup>

These contradictory injunctions reflected the attitude that was to characterise the Board in Aberdeen throughout the difficult early years of Morehead's work in Australia—on the one hand, a keen desire for the large profits that could be got from speculative investment; on the other, an anxious caution that made the Board take fright very easily. Morehead's task was to be very difficult with such a Board and such Agents to satisfy.

This was not the only annoyance with which Morehead had to contend in his dealings with the Board and the Agents. Within a few weeks, Stronach and Grainger were writing to pass on suggestions of the Board that Morehead should invest part of the funds he held for the Company in the 'South Sea Fishery'—'If notwithstanding local disadvantages and distant periods of obtaining returns, the Americans have found it advantageous to prosecute the trade, there is every fair prospect of the South Australian Colonist coping successfully with them, keeping in view the vicinity in which they are placed to the Fishing Stations, and the opportunities of refitting and manning vessels which Traders from distant ports cannot possess.'<sup>2</sup>

The suggestion showed the Board's lack of understanding of Australian conditions, for the recently-founded colony of South Australia would have been incapable of providing ships, gear or crews for whaling expeditions, even if capital had been advanced by the Company. Morehead wisely ignored the plan.

On his arrival in Melbourne in July 1841, with £24,000 for investment in cash and bills, Morehead made his first important decision by moving to Sydney and setting up his office there.

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Melbourne, 20 July 1841.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Melbourne, 28 September 1841.

Melbourne had been the centre proposed in the Contract of Copartnership, but Sydney was the undisputed colonial capital and business centre. By December 1841 Morehead had invested £21,000 in the granting of loans on mortgage and in the purchase of shares in six colonial joint-stock companies.<sup>1</sup> Favourable rates of interest, averaging twelve and a half per cent, were obtained from these transactions. In most cases the loans were advanced to settlers for the improvement of lands which they had purchased, or for stocking with sheep extensive runs for which they had paid licence fees. The Aberdeen agents passed on to Morehead the Board's view that the returns were not sufficient, for exaggerated accounts of the enormous rates of interest obtainable in the Colonies had been reaching Aberdeen, through Duguid and others.<sup>2</sup> Morehead, acquainted with local conditions, knew that his investments were sound, and was satisfied with the returns. He urged the Board to send out more funds, but received the reply from the 'agents and cashiers' that only good dividends and a return of prosperous conditions in Britain, would cause more shares to be bought. 'At present people have neither the money, nor even the desire to make the venture of sending money so far away from home. . . . for any sake in everything use the utmost caution and discretion, for all eyes are upon you as the maker of their fortunes almost.'<sup>3</sup>

And now, in the early 1840's, came rapid changes in economic conditions in Australia. Prosperity quickly gave way to a severe depression, and recovery set in again as swiftly. The onus of responsibility for quick decisions rested on Morehead, and he accepted it, showing financial skill and business acumen that won him respect and admiration among the merchants, pastoralists, and even the government officials of all the Australian Colonies.

The Scottish Company's first great opportunity for extremely profitable investment came in the early part of 1843 when a slump in wool prices caused a general depression in the Colonies. Land and property values in Sydney fell badly, and Morehead, with further funds available, on his own initiative bought up valuable property in the town at bargain prices.

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: Ledger No. 1, pp. 91-100.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Sydney, 18 December 1841.

<sup>3</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Sydney, 18 December 1841.

The property included a wharf and warehouse well placed on the Sydney waterfront. Morehead decided to operate it under the name of the 'Bon Accord Wharf and Stores', and the concern flourished.

Throughout the depression of 1843-8 the confidence of the Scottish investors continued and further large sums were sent out to Morehead. This constant flow of funds from Aberdeen was an important factor in bringing the colonies through the crisis. By 1847 the Company held many thousands of acres of land, for many mortgages had been foreclosed. It was in the depression years that Morehead worked out the policy towards such foreclosures that made the Scottish Australian Company one of the largest landholders in the country, possessor of a 'pastoral empire'. The farmers and 'squatters' whose mortgages had been foreclosed were engaged as managers by the Company and the lands were re-stocked and improved with the Company's funds. Exchange dealings, agency, wool and shipping activities were undertaken by Morehead and, by December 1847, agencies of the Company had been established in London, Liverpool, Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as in Adelaide, the South Australian capital.

The Board in Aberdeen was often critical of Morehead's investments and purchases. In August 1844 Stronach and Grainger complained for the Board that too much real estate was being acquired.<sup>1</sup> It was repeatedly suggested, though never ordered, that he should dispose of it. With the recovery of 1848 and the discovery of gold in New South Wales in 1851 the Company's town-property increased phenomenally in value and Morehead's actions were fully justified.

Before the slump of 1843, Morehead had taken up some shares in the Bank of Sydney. The Bank collapsed and the Company shared in the loss. The result was strong action on the part of the Board. Dr Robert Daun of Edinburgh, now the largest shareholder, with three thousand shares, headed a noisy party of frightened investors at the Annual General Meeting, held in Aberdeen on 29 December 1843. As Stronach and Grainger wrote to Morehead, 'Australia is in bad odour at home . . . accounts of the colonies are dismal in the extreme. The London houses who do largely in Australian business inform us that there is less money going out to Australia than

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Sydney, 20 August 1844.

has ever been the case.<sup>1</sup> In the same letter the agents noted that 'the Board appears to have no confidence in Joint Stock concerns in the Colony'. This was an understatement. Dr Daun had arrived at the General Meeting accompanied by several of his friends from Edinburgh and the south who had large holdings in the Company and who shared his anxiety and anger over Morehead's dealing in the Sydney Bank shares. The doctor had moved that a number of his party be elected directors for the coming year and a resolution was proposed 'that no monies belonging to the Company shall at any time hereafter be invested in the shares or stock of any joint stock or other company in the Colony and that the Manager shall hold no such shares nor be partners in any way connected with companies there.'<sup>2</sup> This was accepted.

Stronach and Grainger attempted to soften the implied reproach in this resolution by pointing out to Morehead that Dr Daun 'was a very intelligent, rich, influential man' who had brought in many large investors to the Company, and that he and his associates had threatened to withdraw from the Company unless the resolution was accepted. As this would have caused 'our shares to tumble down to a miserable discount in the open market' the Board had given way to Daun's pressure.<sup>3</sup>

The Agents were well aware by this time of Morehead's abilities, and while other Scottish and English companies connected with Australia were collapsing, the shares of the Aberdeen Company remained firm in value. It is not surprising that Stronach and Grainger should have assured Morehead of the Board's confidence in him, despite the critical resolution.

Morehead was eager to accept agencies from Scottish companies and merchants. In 1847 an agreement was made with the Colonial Life Assurance Company of Edinburgh, and Morehead became Agent for the latter company in Australia. A highly profitable business was built up. The increasing participation by the Scottish Australian Company in the pastoral development of the country, a lucrative field for enterprise in the late 1840's, enabled high dividends to be maintained.

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Sydney, 31 December 1843.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: extract of the Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Scottish Australian Investment Company, 29 December 1843.

<sup>3</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Sydney, 30 December 1843.



Violent fluctuations in the condition of the North British Australasian Company and a general decline in the popularity of foreign companies among Scottish investors caused the value of the Company's shares to be unjustifiably low at times but, generally, the shares were popular and the returns were stable. As early as 1848 the number of shareholders had decreased greatly. The concentration of large parcels of shares in the hands of a few people had begun, the process usual in successful companies of the time.

In the first decade of the Company's operations in Australia there were only two disasters to offset the success with which Morehead invested, lent, and made the Company a great landholder. The first, a minor one, was the failure of the Bank of Sydney, which had occasioned Dr Daun's threats to break the Company. The second was more serious, and arose from the attempt by Morehead, with the full backing of his Directors, to win for the Scottish Company a share in the fantastic profits of the copper discoveries in South Australia.

In 1842 a mining-mania developed in South Australia, and when the rich Burra Burra deposits were discovered in 1844 the mania was intensified. In its first five years the Burra Burra Copper Mining Company paid proprietors' dividends amounting to 1,800 per cent of the paid-up capital<sup>1</sup>; news of the profits it was making reached Aberdeen and the Directors suggested to Morehead that the Company should participate in the bonanza<sup>2</sup>; but, with their usual caution, they also warned him to avoid anything too speculative.

By May 1845 the Company, in alliance with that other Aberdeen copartnership, the North British Australasian Company, had purchased four hundred acres adjoining the rich Burra workings, and the difficult South Australian phase of its activities had begun.<sup>3</sup> The land was named 'Bon Accord' as befitted the holdings of an Aberdeen company, and the sinking of exploratory shafts was begun, with Morehead and the Board at home very optimistic about the prospect. A number of Cornish miners, several experienced mining engineers, and an expensive steam engine were shipped out, and plans were drawn up for a township on the Company's land, complete

<sup>1</sup> F. Lancelot, *Australia As It Is*, ii, 293.

<sup>2</sup> S.A.C.: Stronach and Grainger, Aberdeen, to Morehead, Sydney, 2 May 1845.

<sup>3</sup> S.A.C.: letter from the Colonial Secretary of South Australia, Adelaide, to Morehead, Sydney, 20 April 1846.

with hotels, jail, town hall, a brewery and all the other refinements of a pioneering settlement. It was, of course, to be named 'Aberdeen'.<sup>1</sup>

The correspondence between Morehead and the agents and Board of the Company in Scotland during the years 1846-50 contains a mass of material on this project. The Company intended to make Aberdeen, South Australia, the centre of the copper-mining area, and schemes were considered for promoting the emigration of several hundreds of Scottish miners to the township. Other mineral companies in South Australia were bringing out shiploads of miners from Saxony to work their holdings and populate townships on their lands, and the Scottish Australian Company projected a Scottish colony in the copper-fields, backed by constant Scottish investment. Unfortunately, only very slight traces of copper were found in the Company's land, but not until 1857 was the Company able to extricate itself from this unprofitable venture, with heavy financial losses. The plan for the establishment of 'Aberdeen, South Australia' fell through completely.

With the discovery of gold in New South Wales in 1851, however, the Company became firmly established and took a leading place among the great commercial institutions of the country. Its properties increased in value far beyond the wildest hopes of the most optimistic Aberdeen investors. By this date Morehead had won the full approval, confidence and support of the Board in Aberdeen. By 1860 he had begun the development of the Newcastle Coalfields and the extension of the Company's empire of sheep-runs into Queensland. There the rolling Bowen Downs were opened up through his efforts, and were settled largely through the financial backing provided to pastoralists, many of them Scottish farmers brought out by the Company. By 1870 the Copartnership's capital had increased to £600,000 from the £40,000 of November 1840. Morehead held his post as Australian Manager until he retired in 1884. He had served the Company well.

The importance of the Scottish connection with Australia in the nineteenth century has been considered by several Australian historians in recent years. The analytical study, *Australia's Colonial Culture in the Nineteenth Century* by Dr George Nadel,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.A.C.: R. A. Morehead's South Australian Letter Book, letter to William Elder, Adelaide, 21 February 1848.

<sup>2</sup> Melbourne University Press, 1957.

has shown the importance of the Scottish educational ideas brought to the colonies by Henry Carmichael, John Smith and other teachers and educationalists. The work of Mr A. Gilchrist on the career of the Presbyterian divine, John Dunmore Lang, has revealed the powerful influence of the Scottish immigrants in the politics of the time, as well as examining Lang's plan for a Scottish colony, with full responsible government, in the Northern Rivers area of New South Wales.<sup>1</sup>

From the very full and informative records which the Scottish Australian Company has made available for research, it would appear that Scottish investment and commercial enterprise played at least an equally significant part in the economic development of the Australian colonies.

DAVID S. MACMILLAN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Gilchrist, *John Dunmore Lang* (Sydney, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> University Archivist, University of Sydney, New South Wales.



## Two John Crabbs

IN their preface to the first volume of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland the editors identify John Crabb who contributed to the successful defence of Berwick in 1319 with John Crabb who represented Aberdeen at Council-General and Parliament between 1357 and 1367.<sup>1</sup> The improbability of one who had been old enough to play so prominent a part in 1319 being young enough to attend parliament nearly half a century later does not seem to have deterred them and they appear to have been unaware of the evidence from record and chronicle against the identification.

John Crabb of Aberdeen may perhaps have been descended from the man of that name who paid 13s. 4d. as second tithes there in 1328<sup>2</sup> but he himself first appears in history as receiving, *circa* 1343, ten shillings from the customer of Aberdeen.<sup>3</sup> In 1349 he granted to the Carmelites of that town an annual rent of one merk from his land in the Gallowgate.<sup>4</sup> The next year he purchased two perticates in Denburn and made a further grant to the friars.<sup>5</sup> He was chosen as the burgh's commissioner to the Council-General of 1357 which appointed him as one of their representatives for negotiating at Berwick the ransom of David II.<sup>6</sup> He was commissioner again to the Council-General of 1365<sup>7</sup> and to the Parliament of 1367.<sup>8</sup> He was customer of Aberdeen<sup>9</sup> in 1358 and the next year sold wool to the Crown in connection with the King's ransom.<sup>10</sup> Soon afterwards he lent David II ten merks which were repaid by the end of 1364.<sup>11</sup> The Crown employed him within the next five years to purchase goods in Flanders for the munition of Edinburgh castle but, by agreement, paid him only two-thirds of the £23 6s. 8d. expended by him.<sup>12</sup> He continued to acquire wealth until, in 1382, he was able to

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (hereafter *E.R.*), i, lxxxii, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. clxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 530.

<sup>4</sup> P. J. Anderson, *Aberdeen Friars*, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (*A.P.S.*), i, 157.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>9</sup> *E.R.*, i, 595.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 587.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 167.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 346-7.

grant to the Carmelites ten merks a year from his lands in Rubislaw, Upperkirkgate, Gallowgate, Netherkirkgate, Castle-gate, Shipraw and the Green.<sup>1</sup> He also held land in the Puddleplace, where the cockstool was, and other lands outside the burgh.<sup>2</sup> In 1384 he gave, *inter alia*, to his younger son, Paul, his lands of Kyncorth.<sup>3</sup> He died before April 1385.<sup>4</sup> The name of his wife, who predeceased him, was Elizabeth.<sup>5</sup> Besides Paul he had an elder son, William, his heir.<sup>6</sup> Both sons, as well as two other John Crabbs, were prominent, if not always law-abiding, burgesses at the end of the century.<sup>7</sup> John Crabb himself seems to have been a douce, prosperous merchant, resident at Aberdeen, where he enjoyed the confidence of Crown and burgh, displaying none of the characteristics of a Flemish pirate.

In marked contrast was the varied career of John Crabb of Berwick. Of Flemish origin he took part with his nephew 'Crabbekyn' and others, some time before 1315, in a piratical attack on a ship that belonged to the wife of the Earl Marshal of England, inflicting damage alleged to extend to £1,000.<sup>8</sup> Only four years later did the Count of Flanders promise, in reply to Edward II's complaint, that, if caught, Crabb would be broken on the wheel, as he had already been banished for murder.<sup>9</sup> But by this time he was established at Berwick, where under Walter the Steward

He gert engynis and trammys ma  
And purvait grec fyre alsua.  
Spryngaldis and schotis on seir maneris  
That till defend castell afferis  
He purvait in till full gret wane.<sup>10</sup>

When the English attempted to recapture Berwick in 1319, their repulse, with the destruction of their battering-ram, the Sow, was due to his skill.<sup>11</sup> His ability as a military engineer was again utilised at Bruce's siege of Norham in 1327.<sup>12</sup> It was probably he who attacked at sea a Lombard ship, involving the Crown in 100 merks of damages.<sup>13</sup> In 1331, as witness to

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, (*R.M.S.*), i, app. ii, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 286-7.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, 20.

<sup>5</sup> *R.M.S.*, i, 682.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 943.

<sup>7</sup> *Early Records of Aberdeen*, ed. W. Croft Dickinson (Scot. Hist. Soc.), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii, 417.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 673.

<sup>10</sup> *The Bruce*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie, p. 303.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>12</sup> *E.R.*, ii, 64.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

a charter at Coldingham, he is described as constable of Berwick.<sup>1</sup>

The next year proved a turning-point in his career. When Edward Balliol, after the battle of Dupplin, was besieged in Perth, Crabb was sent with ten ships from Berwick to the Tay, in order to complete the blockade. He captured the barge belonging to Henry Beaumont, but both it and his own ships were then set on fire and he had to escape by land to Berwick.<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards, in the fight with Balliol's forces at the Bridge of Kelso, he was captured by Sir Walter Manny and was deemed so valuable a prize that the English king was willing to buy him for 1,000 marks. According to the *Chronicle of Lanercost* he was so angry at the failure of the Scots to ransom him that he now became their bitter persecutor.<sup>3</sup> At any rate he spent the remainder of his life as one of the chief military engineers in England, employed not least in operations against Scotland.

When Edward III laid siege to Berwick in 1333, Crabb was brought to place his local knowledge and engineering skill at the invaders' service. When the town was taken after the battle of Halidon Hill, he was rewarded with a pardon 'for all his homicides, felonies etc. by sea or land'<sup>4</sup> and given a tene-ment in the 'Segate Street' which he at once disposed of.<sup>5</sup> A year later he was made keeper for life of Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire at a salary of £20,<sup>6</sup> later raised to £40.<sup>7</sup> Edward stayed there that autumn<sup>8</sup> and ordered extensive operations to be undertaken under Crabb's direction, which included a new moat, drawbridge and gate and which the detailed accounts in the Public Record Office show to have cost £222 8s. 4d. by March 1336.<sup>9</sup>

Crabb was again required for Edward III's Scottish campaign of 1335. With another he was ordered to provide ships from the east coast ports with mariners, archers, victuals and other necessities of war,<sup>10</sup> and he received £21 for going with men-

<sup>1</sup> J. Raine, *History and Antiquities of North Durham*, app., 433.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. H. C. Hamilton, ii, 305.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicle of Lanercost*, ed. Sir H. Maxwell, 274; MS. P.R.O. Issue Rolls, E.403.270, 276, 279; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1330-4, p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> Bain's *Calendar*, iii, 1090.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1330-4, p. 553-4.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1327-37, pp. 407, 444.

<sup>7</sup> MS. P.R.O. Issue Rolls, E.403.331, 336, 339, 340.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1333-7, p. 346.

<sup>9</sup> MS. P.R.O. Issue Rolls, E.101.484.11; E.403.279, 282, 292.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-7, p. 431.

at-arms to Scotland and staying there at the King's wish.<sup>1</sup> It may have been due to his absence that about this time Hugh de Fresne and Alicia, Countess of Lincoln, contrived to escape from Somerton, where they had been separately warded.<sup>2</sup>

On his return Crabb was kept busy for the next two years equipping Somerton Castle, receiving crossbows, javelins, falchions, nails, winches etc. and sowing the demesne lands with corn.<sup>3</sup>

The siege of Dunbar brought Crabb to Scotland for the last time. At the end of 1337 Edward III ordered that all his engines at Berwick should be repaired according to the ordinance of John Crabb, the King's yeoman<sup>4</sup>; in 1339 the Exchequer was instructed to account with him, after he had been sent with 100 archers with a fleet from the Thames to the north<sup>5</sup>; and the chamberlain of Berwick was later repaid, by instalments, a sum of £23 19s. 11d. advanced to Crabb for wages in the Scottish war and particularly in the surveying and constructing of engines and platforms at the siege of Dunbar Castle.<sup>6</sup>

Thereafter Crabb was transferred to the Continental war. In 1340 he went abroad with Sir Robert Morley, and may well have taken part under him in the battle of Sluys that summer.<sup>7</sup> At Ghent in December Edward granted him improved conditions for his keepership of Somerton.<sup>8</sup> Back at home in 1341 he was making engines of war and undertaking 'secret works' for the King at Vauxhall.<sup>9</sup> He took part in the Breton campaign of 1343.<sup>10</sup> Soon after the battle of Neville's Cross he was given a last remote contact with Scotland when he was instructed to lodge at Somerton Walter de Maundeville, who had been captured in the battle.<sup>11</sup> He was dead by February 1352,<sup>12</sup> when his namesake, John Crabb of Aberdeen, had not yet risen to prominence. E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-7, p. 290; *MS. Issue Rolls*, E.403.294.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1327-37, p. 473; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-37, p. 562.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-7, p. 556; 1337-9, pp. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1337-9, pp. 223-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1339-41, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1341-43, p. 11; *MS. Issue Rolls*, E.403.307, 313.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 305, 307.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1340-3, p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1341-3, pp. 27, 49, 193, 295; *MS. Issue Rolls*, E.403.318.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, E.403.336, 339.

<sup>11</sup> *Foedera*, iii, 134.

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1347-56, p. 321.

<sup>13</sup> Formerly Mackay Lecturer in Modern History in the University of Edinburgh.

## Document

### THE EXECUTION OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS<sup>1</sup>

THE Bacon Frank Manuscripts in the City Library, Sheffield, derive their name from Bacon Frank, who, in 1762, inherited the considerable antiquarian collection formed by his uncle, Richard Frank of Campsall Hall, near Doncaster, Yorkshire. Most of the papers in this collection were sold at Messrs Sotheby's in August 1942, when the principal purchasers were the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Leeds Central Library; Messrs Burroughs, Wellcome; and the City Library, Sheffield. Among the manuscripts acquired by the City Library, Sheffield, were some compiled by a Pontefract antiquary, Dr Nathaniel Johnston (1629-1705). In 1671 Johnston had gained access to the family archives of the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, and, for two centuries before 1617, lords of the manor of Sheffield. The papers were lying, unsorted and untended, in the Manor Lodge, Sheffield, whence they had been removed from Sheffield Castle at the time of its destruction in 1648-9. With the aid of a Lofthouse antiquary, John Hopkinson, Johnston read, sorted and transcribed many of them in the course of the next six years. At his instance about six thousand original letters of the fourth to seventh Earls of Shrewsbury, whose lives spanned the century and a half between 1468 and 1616, were presented to the College of Arms. These letters formed the basis of Edmund Lodge's *Illustrations of British History* (1791), and those which he selected to print have, therefore, become well known. But other papers from the Shrewsbury archives Johnston retained. The more important he incorporated into his unpublished manuscript lives of the family; the blank spaces of the less important he almost invariably used for the voluminous indexing and annotating on which he expended much of his energy. When Sheffield City Library bought the holograph

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Emeritus Professor Sir John Neale for advice, and to the City Library, Sheffield, for permission to publish from the Bacon Frank MSS. there.

lives of the Shrewsburys and a collection of some 296 documents relating to the Talbots in the period 1549-1617, it was decided to remove original manuscripts to pockets at the back of each volume of the lives and to sort the letters and other documents chronologically; these latter had been bound, and badly bound, in an order dictated not by the nature of the documents but by Johnston's memoranda and indices.

George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, was the guardian of Mary, Queen of Scots, from 4 February 1568-9 to 7 September 1584. Five manuscripts connected with Mary have been found among the Bacon Frank Manuscripts at Sheffield, four of them at the back of two of the volumes of the manuscript life of the sixth Earl and one in the miscellaneous collection of letters and other documents.<sup>1</sup>

The first four of these manuscripts, considered chronologically, are of marginal interest and may be dismissed summarily. A letter to the Earl from his servant John Parker, dated from Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire, 27 June 1570, encloses an inventory 'of all the stuff remaining at Tutbury Castle the iij of June both of Sheffield, Wingfield and Rufford' which illustrates the way in which the Earl was obliged to draw from his other houses to equip the one currently in use for Mary's keeping.<sup>2</sup> A note headed 'Reasons why the French king should recommend the Queen of Scots' cause' provides a seventeenth-century copy of a memorandum in the negotiations towards recognising James as King of Scotland and towards the Treaty of Blois with France, known hitherto in an eighteenth-century copy among the Harleian manuscripts and in what appear to be two drafts of the final memorandum in Burghley's hand among the State Papers Foreign; the Bacon

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Horwood reported on the Bacon Frank Collection for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1877, *Sixth Report*, Appendix, 448-65. Volumes 5-8 in Horwood's enumeration (the lives of the Shrewsburys) are now Bacon Frank MSS. (City Library, Sheffield), hereafter cited as B.F.M. 5-1-4; the 296 documents of 1549-1616 are B.F.M. 2. A description of the Bacon Frank MSS. acquired by Sheffield was given in M. Walton, 'Sheffield Castle Manuscripts', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, v (Sheffield, 1943), 269-78. A concordance of extant Johnston papers is given in Mrs J. D. Martin (née Hamer), 'The Antiquarian Collections of Nathaniel Johnston (1629-1705)', unpublished B. Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1956, Appendix D. The Marquess of Bath possesses at Longleat contemporary fair copies of Johnston's lives of the Shrewsburys and transcripts of papers at Sheffield Castle for the years 1574-1608, H.M.C., *Third Report* (1872), Appendix, 185, 198, and there are copies of the lives among the Chatsworth MSS.

<sup>2</sup> B.F.M. 2-25, 2 folios.



Frank MS. is undated but one of Burghley's drafts is dated 28 March 1572.<sup>1</sup> A record of the examination of one William Wharton, gentleman, of Ripon, before the Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield on 19 June 1575, endorsed by Johnston as a true copy of the original in his possession, clarifies a mooted project for drawing intelligence on the correspondence of Mary, Queen of Scots, which persisted despite all the precautions which Shrewsbury took; the references among the published State Papers to Wharton's project leave the story unfinished.<sup>2</sup> A contemporary copy of the memorial presented by the ambassadors from Henri III at their third and final audience with Elizabeth after the publication of the sentence against Mary permits a comparison of the French text given by Johnston and the published English translation which reveals no material deficiency in the latter.<sup>3</sup>

The last document, however, is on any reckoning of outstanding significance. It is a holograph letter from Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to the Queen, dated 12 February 1586-7, four days after the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. There is nothing to show whether the letter was actually sent to the Queen or whether this is a copy, presumably sent by Buckhurst to Shrewsbury, one of the commissioners for the

<sup>1</sup> B.F.M. 5-4, a loose document of 5 folios; Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4111, fos. 12-18, printed in part in F. von Raumer, *Contributions to Modern History from the British Museum and the State Paper Office: Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots* (1836), 201-2; P.R.O. S.P. 52/22, nos. 48 (dated) and 50.

<sup>2</sup> B.F.M. 5-4, a loose document of 7 folios. For references to Wharton among State Papers see *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, iv (Edinburgh, 1905), nos. 490, 741-2, 755, 760-2, 784, and v (Edinburgh, 1907), nos. 67, 98.

<sup>3</sup> B.F.M. 5-4, a loose document of 3 folios (French) and another of 2 folios (Johnston's translation); B.F.M. 5-2, a loose document of 2 folios (fair copy of the translation). Both the letter and the Queen's reply are calendared twice in the *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, ix (Glasgow, 1915), no. 211, from a copy in Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Calig. B VIII fo. 160, and no. 352, in the course of a long narrative from an attendant upon the French envoys to M. de Villeroy, from two copies in Brit. Mus. Additional MSS. 30,663, fo. 436 and 30,342, fo. 70b. The calendar dates the narrative as May but it is clearly February from its tenor. The reply is given and dated 'before January 11' in *Cal. S.P. For. Eliz.* xxi (1), 184. Both the letter and the reply were printed in Alexandre Teulet, *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Ecosse avec l'Ecosse au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris, 1862), iv, 138-53. There has been some confusion about the date of the letter because the French were employing the Gregorian calendar, but the date is clearly established as 27 December 1586, e.g. from a letter of M. de Bellievre to M. Brulart (Teulet, op. cit., iv, 131-2), where Bellievre refers in a letter of 5 January (Gregorian calendar) to the granting of an audience with Elizabeth the next day.

execution. The letter is hitherto unrecorded. It both epitomises the poignancy of the crisis through which the Queen and the Privy Council passed over Mary's execution and provides startling confirmation for Sir John Neale's interpretation of the roles played by Elizabeth and her Council in bringing about the final episode of the twenty years long drama.

Elizabeth had saved Mary from death in 1572 after the Ridolfi Plot, but the discovery of the Babington Plot in 1586 with its plan to murder Elizabeth, an event which had been feared by Protestants ever since the assassination of William the Silent in 1584, led the Privy Council and Parliament to demand the speedy execution of 'the principal conspirator and the very root from whom all the other lewd weeds do spring', to quote Mildmay's description of Mary.<sup>1</sup> Buckhurst's statement in this letter to the Queen 'every hour of her life did greatly endanger your death' was only an echo of a cry which had been persistent and consistent since the Parliament of 1586 had been summoned; Sir Ralph Sadler, for example, had referred to Mary on 3 November as the 'root and ground' of the conspiracy 'who living, there is no safety for our most gracious Sovereign'.<sup>2</sup>

The Queen, though recognising the force of the case for Mary's death, hesitated to execute a sovereign and hoped for an alternative solution to her greatest problem. Undecided, she temporised with Parliament, at the last adjourning it on 2 December until 15 February that she might have time in which to resolve the question, but proclaiming the sentence against Mary on 4 December. In the next few weeks, while the Council chafed for action, Elizabeth received embassies from France and Scotland remonstrating at the threat to Mary's life. Her councillors knew what value to put upon the formal representations of Henri III and James VI; as has been said of the memorandum on the Queen's reply to the French ambassadors' letter of 27 December, 'This last, though addressed to the French envoys, seems to have been intended also to impress Elizabeth herself'.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of the Bond of Association of 1584, the Act for the Queen's Safety of 1584-5 and sixteenth-century political

<sup>1</sup> Quoted, Sir John Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments 1584-1601* (hereafter cited as Neale), 108.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted Neale, 109.

<sup>3</sup> E. Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, vi (privately printed, 1937), 349.

theory, Elizabeth had reason to hope that someone would murder Mary. Burghley had been authorised to draw up a warrant for her death in late December 1586, but it was not until 1 February, after renewed alarm in the country, that the Queen summoned Davison, the newly appointed Secretary of State, and signed the warrant. The next day when she learned that it had passed the seal she asked that a letter be sent to the guardians of Mary complaining that they had not rid her of their charge. Sir John Neale has drawn attention to the notes of Robert Beale, the Clerk of the Council, on the discussion at Fotheringay on the day on which he arrived there with the warrant. The Council as a whole assumed responsibility for Mary's death from 2 February when Davison, fearing a change of heart on the Queen's part, had gone to Hatton and Burghley about the warrant; but it was this discussion which finally decided on formal execution rather than murder as the mode of death. Mary was accordingly executed on 8 February.<sup>1</sup>

This newly-discovered letter of Buckhurst's was written the day after Elizabeth reprimanded the Council 'exceedingly' for carrying out the sentence. She was genuinely distraught, as a letter from the Council of this date, 12 February, shows when they write of 'our desire to have your grief of mind to cease, and to give yourself to your natural food and sleep, to maintain your health'. She was distraught not at the death but at the manner of it which, in her eyes and in those of her fellow-sovereigns, constituted sacrilege. In her wrath, she turned on Davison and Burghley, refusing to see the latter and ordering Buckhurst to conduct Davison to the Tower.<sup>2</sup>

Buckhurst, a Privy Councillor who had been a commissioner at the Duke of Norfolk's trial in 1572, had been nominated a commissioner for Mary's but did not attend; he had, however, conveyed the sentence to Mary in December 1586. The son of Sir Richard 'Fillsack' Sackville, under-treasurer of the Exchequer, and a cousin of Elizabeth through the Boleyns, Buckhurst had been prominent at Court twenty years but surely presumed upon his position to the utmost when he wrote this letter to her, with its strong condemnation of her proposed punishment of Davison. It was near treason, and is a measure of the feeling which existed. Evidently, the Queen

<sup>1</sup> Neale, 136-41; N. H. Nicolas, *Life of William Davison* (1823), 38, 86-7, 231-55.

<sup>2</sup> Neale, 141; Nicolas, *op. cit.*, 116.

renewed her demand to Buckhurst, for two days later he did in fact conduct Davison to the Tower.<sup>1</sup>

At one time Davison was in some danger of hanging, as Neale has demonstrated from a letter of Burghley's of 25 February: 'She (I know not how) is informed that by her prerogative she may cause Mr Davison to be hanged, and that we all [of the Council] may be so convicted as we shall require pardon. Hereupon, yesterday, she, having Mr Justice Anderson with her and demanding question whether her prerogative were not absolute, he answered, as I hear, "Yes".' Burghley told his unnamed correspondent that the Queen had turned on Lord Buckhurst for saying that she could not hang a man against her laws.<sup>2</sup> No wonder that Buckhurst fell from favour within a few months if he followed his letter of 12 February with verbal remonstrances.

In the event, Davison was brought before the Star Chamber on 28 March and elaborately accused of offending the Queen on some twenty-one counts. He was sentenced to forfeit his office, to imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure and to a fine of 10,000 marks.<sup>3</sup> Both Beale and Davison himself believed that he had been made a scapegoat, and until Sir John Neale's recent reinterpretation this view has held sway. Davison held that Burghley and Cecil 'both secretly and openly' endeavoured to 'suppress' him: Beale wrote in a note, years later, that 'it was thought meet to put' the blame 'from the Queen upon Mr Davison' for Mary's execution and cited the subsequent treatment of Davison as testimony—he was released from the Tower in October 1588, his fine remitted and his fee as Secretary paid him.<sup>4</sup> This letter of Buckhurst's seems to prove that Elizabeth's wrath was indeed, as Neale has argued, genuine, and that the Council were seriously alarmed at her reaction to their *fait accompli*.

G. R. BATHO.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Buckhurst, see C. J. Phillips, *History of the Sackville Family* (1930), i, ch. v, where curiously there is no mention of the Davison incident.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS. 108, fo. 90; quoted Neale, 141-2.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas, *op. cit.*, 119; E. Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, vii (privately printed, 1940), 28-9.

<sup>4</sup> Neale, 138; Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 290, fo. 246; quoted Tenison, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Sheffield.

*Bacon Frank MSS. 5-4, a loose document of 2 folios, a letter from Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to the Queen, 12 February 1586/7.*

Most sacred Queene, as I acknowledge my self above others in dyvers respectes most firmly tyed unto your Majestie so dothe the force of my fidelitie love and loyaltie infinitely avowid unto yow, constrainne me so farre, as in the abundance therof I am bould to wryte these fewe lynes, wherby to manifest unto your Majestie those exceedinge great perilles and mischeefes that are lyke to followe yf that severe sentence of your H: against Mr. Secretarie should be put in execution. It will gyve matter of brute and argument to the mortall ennemyes of your Majestie and your Relme that the scottishe Queene is unlawfully murderid and not by iustice executed for beinge not to be donne but by your direction, yf your H: shall commit your Secretarie for bringinge to your Counsaill that Commission which warranteth your direction which is the only warrant for her execution and then will followe that whatsoever honorable course hath hitherto iustified to all princes and people of the world the whole manner of your Majesties proceedinges in this course. Loe all this nowe by the malicious sclanders of<sup>1</sup> your ennemies will straight be turnid and taken to a contrary sence and the whole proceedinge even from the first to the last measured by the end and therby esteemed no better then as an unlawfull course tendinge unto murder, And therof I feare greatly that they will rayse most dangerous brutes abroad as that the Lordes of your Majesties counsaill and all other the Lordes knightes and gentlemen that were actors and accomplishers of this Execution (which in deed were very many) are no better then murderers. That your H: and your counsaill are devydid. And howe farre forth these and such lyke may worke to stirre up tumultes and rebellions it is dolefull and dolorous to thincke upon. Besides it is greatly to be fearid that these wicked folke will pervert and turne even this present action of Mr. Secretaries committinge to your Majesties great dishonor and our utter shame and discredit for ever, for when they shall knowe that the Commission had both your hand and Seale, dothe your H: thinck that this contempt and error of your Secretarie shal be beleevyd? and though it were, can it make your danger lesse for that respect? nowe, when they forbear not so wickedly to seeke your death even then when neither yow had disabled her title nor signed a warrant for her execution. But your Majestie will say that<sup>2</sup> the death of this Lady will bringe upon yow aWarre of Princes, surely that warre yf at the least any such be intended agaynst yow, no doubt it was longe since considered, and prepared before this matter had either begining or being and hath farre other cause and ground to move it, and no manner foundation

<sup>1</sup> the scored through here.

<sup>2</sup> your execution scored through here.

on this behalf to rayse it. In the meane while your faithfull subiects shall thus not only be discomforted but also greatly endangered and all for the love and duty they beare unto yow. One the other syde your Majesties mortall foes and ours shall infinitely reioyse and triumphe over us, yea they shall rayse them selves up in a comfort of newe that nowe are utterly daunted and deieted for ever. And yf heerupon your true and faithfull subiects should gather eny vayne feare or mistrust that papistry might prevaill or ryse agaune, O most excellent Queene I tremble to thinck what dangerous eventes even such vayne doubttes and suspitions might produce.

Nowe as touchinge the fact of your counsaill, I hope your H: will be pleased to consyder that they having this warrant under your hand and Seale shewid unto them, they were bound in duty and alegiance even with all speed, to cause the same to be executed being a thing that ever by the wysest of your whole Relme after long debate was throughly agreed upon, namely that every hower of her lyfe did greatly endanger your deth. And nowe with all humilitie unto your Majestie I affirme that to make a question of your H: will and pleasure when by your hand wryting and seale it is declarid were a very meere folly or rather manifest contempt in duty. And I am sure that among so many millions of Commissiones which have past from your Majestie and your predecessors, there was never yeat example seene in that behalf nor I am sure never shall; Thus I most humbly beseeche your Majesty to have gracious and sober consideration of the Committing of your H: Secretarie, whose fact though it cannot be excused, yeat as the cause standeth, with owt dangerous inconvenience it may not be punished: which for the discharge of my dutie and conscience I thus remember to your Majesty wherof when your H: shall have taken sound advice and what therein is fitt to be donne for your Majesties best good and behoofe I remayne preste and ready to perfoorme whatsoever it shall please your H: to command. 12 february 1586.

Your Majesties most humble and faithfull  
 Servant and Subiect  
 Th: Buckhurst.



## Reviews

### SOCIAL WELFARE<sup>1</sup>

IN 1948 Professor Ferguson gave us, in *The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare*,<sup>2</sup> a survey of his field that came down to about 1863, and it is indicative of the increasing complexity of human affairs that his new volume, carrying the story over the next fifty years, should be approximately twice the length of the first. Although, apart from sheer bulk, there are differences between the two books (in format, arrangement, publishers and price), they have much in common and, indeed, provide between them a comprehensive and articulated review of the subject of social control and betterment, brought down as far (having regard to the susceptibilities of many still living) as it is probably expedient to go. The starting and finishing dates of the present volume, in fact, virtually chose themselves, as turning-points in social history. About the early 1860's—certainly not before 1859, when the harnessing of Loch Katrine assured Glasgow of the best water supply in the kingdom, and not later than 1867, when legislation empowered and, to some extent, compelled the local authorities to concern themselves with the physical well-being of their communities—the public attitude to health, housing<sup>3</sup> and hygiene underwent a noteworthy change for the better. The author takes, as the dividing line between two epochs, the appointment of Scotland's first two medical officers of health—Dr Littlejohn at Edinburgh in 1862 and Dr Gairdner at Glasgow in 1863. In 1914, again, the state's social services, administered directly from the centre, were still a novelty, and the first World War was to induce such an awakening of the public conscience, particularly on housing and unemployment, as to presage an inescapable challenge to drastic political action. The 'welfare state' was just around the corner.

The arrangement of the present volume is clear, logical and probably superior to that of the earlier work. It is true that the chapters, nine in number, tend to be lengthy, so that the author has felt constrained to split each of them into a large array of numbered

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Social Welfare, 1864-1914*. By Thomas Ferguson. Pp. xii, 610. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone. 1958. 42s.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, xxix, 88.

<sup>3</sup> It is also worth remarking that the first 'slum clearance' scheme (Glasgow's City Improvement Trust) was instituted in 1866, and the second (at Edinburgh) in 1867.

sections, and one of them into numbered sections and sub-sections, but a detailed list of 'Contents' and a reliable index partially atone for a method that does not make for easy reading. After a brief pre-view of the whole argument, the author deals in turn with population data, housing, 'general environment' (including sanitation, water, drainage, and river and atmospheric pollution), and dietary matters. The longest chapter is devoted to poor relief in its several aspects—outdoor relief, the poor-house, public works during trade depressions, the treatment of vagrants, tramps and tinkers, the evolution of the old age pensions scheme (1908) and of national insurance against unemployment, sickness and disablement (1911). The three final chapters discuss the great infectious diseases, the medical, nursing and hospital services (culminating in the Highlands and Islands Medical Service, enacted in 1913 though not put into full operation until 1920), and maternity and child welfare (including the school population, child labour, the 'half-time' system and apprenticeship).

During the half-century reviewed by Professor Ferguson, many changes came over the face of society in Scotland. The rate of population-growth (55.5 per cent from 1861 to 1911) was not quite as high as it had been in the preceding fifty years (69.6 per cent), and yet the increase was extremely rapid in the industrial lowlands: it exceeded 100 per cent in the counties of Lanark (including Glasgow), Dunbarton and West Lothian, and was most marked in the new steel and shipbuilding towns, Govan, Partick, Clydebank and Motherwell. Again, the great days of the 'Irish invasion' were over, but Ulster was still sending many thousands of settlers; 'Orange-and-green' riots were often bloodthirsty affairs; and the religious feuds of their unhappy homeland were reproduced in the bitter rivalry between Rangers and Celtic. Close to the heart of most social questions lay the housing problem, and more particularly the inordinate number of one- or two-roomed houses, which tended to be (or soon to become) filthy, squalid, congested hovels. Between 1861 and 1911 the occupants of one-roomed houses fell from 27.0 to 8.7 per cent of the inhabitants, but for two-roomed houses the proportion actually rose from 38.0 to 40.9 per cent. Thus the desire for roomier homes was largely frustrated by the fact that the population was all the time growing out of hand; and any improvement was most unevenly distributed. In 1911 the section of the inhabitants living in houses of one or two apartments amounted to 82.8 per cent in Armadale, 76.6 in Coatbridge, 76.1 in Wishaw, 75.1 in Clydebank, and over 70 per cent in seven other industrial towns—Kilsyth, Lochgelly, Govan, Galston, Barrhead, Airdrie and Motherwell. In Glasgow the figure was 62.5 per cent, in Dundee 63.0, in Paisley 65.0, though Edinburgh (37.2) and Aberdeen (38.6) were much better off. Thus the campaign for improved housing was as yet in

its infancy: it is a theme reserved for some future chronicler who will in due time write the sequel to Professor Ferguson's books.

As it is, our author's fact-filled pages bring vividly before our eyes much of the drama, and indeed the tragedy, of the age. Each generation created and perpetuated its own slums. In 1871 8.5 per cent of Edinburgh's occupants of 'single-ends' kept lodgers, and for 'room-and-kitchen' houses the figure was 19.9 per cent, while no less than 70 per cent of the houses built in Glasgow from 1866 to 1874 were of one or two apartments. The greater cities and towns obtained reasonably pure water supplies, but the lapses were numerous and sometimes inexplicable. Thus, if Dundee's water was no longer, as in 1830, 'sparkling and piquant'—'a very thorough purified sewage'—some of the Fife villages drew their supplies in 1892 from shallow wells dug only a few feet from, and often communicating with, a cesspool. Good water enabled proper drains to replace privy middens, but for long the installation of water-closets in tenement property was opposed, not only by the owners, but also by medical officers and by the inhabitants themselves.

Cholera had paid its last visit in 1869, but it remained an object of fear and terror, while in 1900-1 (after more than two and a half centuries of immunity) plague came back, to cause a world-wide sensation with about sixteen fatalities in Glasgow. Throughout the period, typhus and typhoid (or enteric) fever, smallpox, diphtheria and scarlet fever were deadly menaces, but worst of all was tuberculosis, since the victims and their families, out of a misplaced sense of shame, or from fear of loss of work, tried to conceal the affliction: in the 1860's 17 per cent of all deaths were due to consumption, and in 1911-15 the proportion was still 11 per cent. The first fever hospital was opened at Glasgow in 1865, the first dispensary for tuberculous patients at Edinburgh in 1887; in each case, from small, temporary and poorly equipped buildings, there evolved a system of permanent hospitals and sanatoria, in which specialist treatment by experts was assured. Equally important was the notification of the presence of such dangerous ailments. Here Greenock was the pioneer with a bold local scheme in 1877, but it was 1897 before compulsory notification became universal for infectious diseases, and not until the years 1912-14 was the duty imposed for tuberculosis.

The improved standards of public health are reflected in the vital statistics. The death-rate for all Scotland declined from a peak of 23.58 per thousand in 1864 (when it was over 30 in the principal towns) to 15.49 in 1914. The concurrent fall in the birth-rate (from 35.62 in 1876 to 26.11 in 1914) made for an ageing and more stable population: the expectation of life at birth stood at 40.3 years for males and 43.9 for females in 1861, and it had risen to 50.1 and 53.2 years respectively in 1911. Yet infant mortality remained, by modern standards, alarmingly high, chiefly because of the

scarcity and impurity of the milk in towns: the peak figure of 138 per thousand live births was reached only in 1897, and it was still 111 in 1914. The gravest defects in pre-war Scottish society thus lay in the numbers living in one- or two-roomed houses, the mortality from tuberculosis, and the deaths under one year.

These matters and many others are handled fully, fairly and frankly by Professor Ferguson. It is some indication of the thoroughness with which he approaches his task that he lists well over 200 titles of books, reports and articles, the substance of which he has obviously mastered. It is perhaps a source of weakness that these titles, labelled 'references' and arranged alphabetically under chapter-headings at the end of the book, represent the only formal documentation in a work that is based on an exhaustive collation of original authorities: the device does less than justice to the author's scholarship and diligence. If the ubiquitous footnote and the precise citation of records are held to offend the general reader, their absence is matter for regret to the serious student of history: and to whom else is a work of this kind intended to appeal?

A few other criticisms suggest themselves. The writer uses the uncouth and un-Scottish term 'trade guilds' (pages 4, 362) for 'crafts' or 'incorporated trades'. It is not clear why he should write at some length (pages 41-7) about factors affecting the work and earnings of agricultural labourers, without ever quoting a figure for their average or typical wages. Again, if the maternal mortality rates (highly germane to the main theme) are given for any time other than the closing years of the period (page 509), the point has escaped the notice of this reader. A possibly more serious objection relates to Professor Ferguson's underlying philosophy, his whole concept of the subjects. As the incumbent of a chair of public health, he has a natural bias towards a strictly medical interpretation of 'social welfare'. When he has given us so much, it is perhaps ungrateful to look for more, and yet the nagging doubt intrudes—'Is this the complete story?' He has dealt faithfully with the regulative, prohibitory and minatory aspects of welfare, but what of the more positive and benign services which, increasingly supplied by the local authorities, were such a notable feature of his period? If water supplies come into the picture (as they assuredly must), why not gas and electricity? Why not municipal transport, particularly the tramways scrapped only yesterday (or tomorrow)? Why not parks and open spaces?—are they not, in the cant phrase, the lungs of the community? Municipal enterprise, indeed, provided museums, libraries and art galleries, public baths and wash-houses—culture and cleanliness for the citizen—and it is arguable that the whole range of social services and 'public utilities' come within the orbit of social welfare. Is this to ask too much? Probably it is: and an author writes the kind of book he wants to write, not the kind that

the reviewer thinks he should write. In any case, Professor Ferguson has manfully tackled the hardest part of the story, braving the rigours of a flood of documentation which has hitherto deterred historians from taking a close view of late Victorian and Edwardian Scotland, and breaking fresh ground in a virgin territory. A decade ago this reviewer desiderated a sequel to Professor Ferguson's earlier work<sup>1</sup>: here it is, a notable addition to our chronicles, for which students of today and tomorrow will long be indebted to the author's industry and insight.

GEORGE S. PRYDE.<sup>2</sup>

### MISCELLANEA SCOTICA<sup>3</sup>

FIRST of the contributions to the ninth *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* is that of Dr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville.<sup>4</sup> Among the documents which he has edited are the accounts of Sir William Trussell of Cublesdon, custodian of the captive David II between March 1355 and September 1357.

Whatever interest attaches to David II's captivity must centre upon the treatment which he received. For all their length, Trussell's accounts illustrate somewhat laboriously only a few aspects of this, and those for only two and a half of the eleven years during which David was imprisoned. Whether the details of David's daily diet, or Sir William Trussell's purchases of linen sheets and bed curtains warrant printing *in extenso* seems questionable.

If the inference to be drawn from the accounts is that David did not lack material comforts, other aspects of his captivity are illustrated by eight subsidiary documents attached to the accounts. Four of these, but perhaps not the most important,<sup>5</sup> have been printed in a short appendix.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, xxix, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Professor of Scottish History and Literature in the University of Glasgow.

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*. Ninth Volume. Pp. 236. Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society. 1958.

<sup>4</sup> 'Papers Relating to the Captivity and Release of David II', *Miscellany*, pp. 1-56.

<sup>5</sup> Left unprinted is a writ worthy of more than the passing mention (*Miscellany*, p. 4) it has received. This directs *inter alia* that David should be attended by an English esquire and chamberlain to be assigned by Trussell, and that no Scot or former acquaintance might approach the prisoner without Edward's leave. The writ is stitched along with the others to Trussell's accounts (P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Accounts Various, E.101.27.3.). Since p. 37 of the *Miscellany* describes the captive David as *modicam curialitatem vel nullam habens a suis*, provisions prescribing the composition of his entourage deserve some examination.

Although David was kept in strait custody and not over-lavishly attended, Dr Balfour-Melville has shown that Edward III was solicitous for the health of his valuable prisoner, and that David found his keeper relatively congenial. In the last months of his captivity, David was brought from Odiham castle to the Tower so as to participate in the negotiations for his release. Thereafter his captors allowed him a short pilgrimage to Canterbury, where he made a somewhat niggardly offering before setting out under Trussell's escort for his own kingdom and freedom.

The Scotland that eagerly awaited its ransomed king was soon to be racked by new perplexities. In 1363, Edward III proposed a cancellation of David's burdensome ransom in return for an alteration of the Scottish succession in favour of himself or one of his sons. Illustrative of the demoralisation in Scotland that alone could have made the English proposals opportune is another document edited by Dr Balfour-Melville.<sup>1</sup> This embodies recollections of two arguments reputedly advanced in a Scottish general council which discussed the English proposals.

Entitled *Propositio multum damnosa*, the first argument makes out a case for the acceptance of the English king as David's successor, and envisages a time when the wolf will lie down with the lamb and the Englishman with the Scot.

Set forth at more length is the *Fidelis opinio*. This asserts that the kingdom of Scotland is immediately subject to the Roman church, and outlines the harmful consequences of accepting Edward or his eldest son as future king.

Forceful though the last argument is, it does not advocate the maintenance of Scottish independence under a native line of kings, but favours an offer of the succession to John of Gaunt, a younger son of Edward.

What is strange is that in the course of both arguments there is no mention of the Steward; nor is it obvious what was the attitude of David II. The first argument represents him as favouring the English proposals; the second as allowing them to be discussed merely in order to test the spirit of his people. In the event, neither of the two arguments can have convinced the Scots: in language as decisive as that of the Declaration of Arbroath the English proposals were ultimately rejected.

To bring before us so early and valuable a record of political argument, Dr Balfour-Melville has mastered a particularly difficult document. Possibly because of a copyist's errors, the text of the Cottonian manuscript is in places corrupt. This no doubt accounts

<sup>1</sup> (Cotton, Vesp. C. XVI ff. 34-40.) Written by a junior colleague of William Spynie, dean of Aberdeen and subsequently (1397) bishop of Moray, the document claims to be based upon an earlier pamphlet composed by Spynie. See *Miscellany*, pp. 36-56, 'Debate in Council-General'.



for the word correctly transcribed on page 37 as *comitatum*. The likelihood that *communitatum* is intended might perhaps have been pointed out in a footnote. Even after transcription the text presents unusual difficulty: Dr Balfour-Melville has wisely provided an abstract in English.

Any new addition to the slight store of Scottish record that has survived from the Middle Ages is especially welcome. After a long period in private ownership, the accounts of the comptroller, Sir Duncan Forestar of Skipinch, have recently been restored to the Register House. Sixty-six years too late to have been included in Volume XI of the *Exchequer Rolls*, those parts of the accounts hitherto unpublished have been edited for the *Miscellany* by Mr P. Gouldebrough.<sup>1</sup>

Like most exchequer accounts, these are rich in biographical and topographical information. Ranging from 1 December 1495 to a period approaching 31 January 1499, they include payments to Spanish envoys and to servants of Perkin Warbeck, whose pretensions to the title of Duke of York were soon to collapse in a disastrous descent upon Cornwall.

The obvious care Mr Gouldebrough has taken in producing his text from an unfortunately defective manuscript seems subject to only slight lapses: the perplexing sum of money quoted on page 64 as '1<sup>c</sup> xxj lib. v s.' is in fact j<sup>c</sup> xxj lib. v s.; and the sense of the text on page 74 becomes immediately apparent if the full stop is omitted after the word *assedancium*.

With the approach of its four hundredth anniversary, any new evidence on so controversial a subject as the Scottish Reformation will be carefully scrutinised. Too often, the politics of the reformation in Scotland have been subordinated to its religious disputes. The document which Miss Gladys Dickinson has edited for the *Miscellany*<sup>2</sup> may do something to redress the balance. Its main theme is the usurpation of royal authority by the Hamiltons.

By September 1559, both father and son were actively opposing the regent. Angered by this defection, Mary and her French husband commissioned two French noblemen to investigate the treasonable activities of the Hamiltons. Associated with the mission of De la Brosse and D'Oysel were the Scotsmen John Spens, John Bellenden and James MacGill, who acted as legal advisors and interpreters.

In the form of a *procès-verbal*, the resulting report embodies twelve charges against the Hamiltons. The latter had assembled in arms and made illicit conventions; they had beleaguered Mary of Guise in Leith, suspended her regency, and in various ways usurped

<sup>1</sup> 'Accounts of Sir Duncan Forestar of Skipinch, Comptroller 1495-1499', *Miscellany*, pp. 57-81.

<sup>2</sup> 'Report by De la Brosse and D'Oysel on Conditions in Scotland 1559-1560', *Miscellany*, pp. 83-125.

the royal authority; they had imprisoned the bishop of Dunblane, un-tabarded Lyon King of Arms, wasted the property of royal supporters and indulged in sacrilege.

Between 5 and 10 February 1560, nineteen witnesses were cited to Holyrood, where they were put on oath and questioned upon each of the twelve articles. The four groups into which the witnesses may be classified comprised prelates, lay lords, burgesses of Edinburgh and, rather curiously, heralds. As Miss Dickinson has shown, these proceedings were obviously intended to form the basis of a charge of treason against the Hamiltons. But while the depositions were being painstakingly recorded by a French notary in Holyrood, admiral Winter's squadron was patrolling the Forth, first token of that decisive English intervention which was to bring to a close the Auld Alliance and the religious policy associated with it.

Neither religious nor political matters bulk large in Mr P. Marshall's contribution.<sup>1</sup> This is remarkable in that the document which he has edited gives a daily account of the activities of a Scottish gentleman in the troublous period 24 January 1646 to 1 October 1646.

But Sir James Hope of Hopetoun was no ordinary Scottish gentleman. By marriage, he had acquired lands in Crawfordmuir. These were rich in lead ore, the exploitation of which was financed by the Dutch firm of Lefebvre and Vanhoght. To account with his congenial Dutch partners, Sir James made that business trip to the Netherlands which is so vividly described in the document now printed.

What Sir James observed and recorded in the course of his trip would scarcely have provoked the attention of most of his contemporaries. Wise after the event, the modern reader will easily recognise in descriptions of the primitive blast furnaces of Liège or the Kentish Weald the stirrings of that industrial revolution which has shaped our present environment. Meticulously set down in Sir James' diary are his investigations into the working of the iron mills, coal pits and chemical plants of the industrial Meuse valley.

Not all of the diary is taken up with the arcana of technology. The eye which sized up the efficiency of a blast furnace could also delight in the treasures of the baroque churches of Antwerp. Like most Scots abroad, moreover, Sir James sought the company of his fellow-countrymen. There was no lack of these among the Scots who had gone to the United Provinces to trade, to study, or to fight.

The account of Sir James's travels in Civil War England and the divided Netherlands is an entertaining one. Fortunate in his subject, Mr Marshall has enhanced its value with an admirable introduction and comprehensive footnotes.

No believer in lost causes, Sir James Hope would hardly have

<sup>1</sup> 'The Diary of Sir James Hope 24th January-1st October 1646', *Miscellany*, pp. 127-97.

sympathised with the last Jacobite rising. Even contemporaries styled it a 'Don Quixot's expedition'.<sup>1</sup> Yet its record of ill-fated heroism has assured it an interest transcending its strict historical importance. Few narratives of the '45 are dull. That to which Mr Donald Nicholas introduces us<sup>2</sup> is circumstantial enough to surpass in interest and significance some of its longer companion pieces.

Its hero is the young Clanranald. At the expense of Lochiel, the narrative emphasises the part of Clanranald and his Macdonalds in the proceedings at Glenfinnan. Both at the Corrieyairack Pass, where the expected engagement with Cope's forces did not occur, and at Prestonpans where it did, the Macdonalds are shown as claiming the position of honour on the right of the line.

For all its Macdonald bias, the brief document is an illuminating commentary on the progress of the amateur army from Moidart to Edinburgh. That the narrative should stop short on the very eve of the battle of Prestonpans is regrettable. Whether this unnatural termination is the result of design or accident Mr Nicholas has not revealed.

To sum up the widely differing contributions that compose the ninth *Miscellany* is an almost impossible task. What they have in common is that for the study of Scottish history they present information which is usually new, and often significant. But information can scarcely be transformed into knowledge so long as it remains unread. Not all of the contributors have troubled to coat the pills of their scholarship with the sugar of a stimulating introduction.

RANALD NICHOLSON.<sup>3</sup>

#### SHORT NOTICES

NÉGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUZ EN IRLANDE (1689-90).

Edited with an Introduction by James Hogan. 2 vols. Dublin: The Stationery Office. 1934, 1958. 45s.

These two volumes are indispensable to the student of the period which they cover, and their appearance has placed scholars heavily in the debt of Dr Hogan. His Introduction could not have been better done, and the publication of these manuscripts will necessitate a reassessment of many views regarding the early years of the

<sup>1</sup> So it was called by Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and Norman MacLeod of MacLeod when the young Clanranald made an unsuccessful appeal for their participation in the rising. See *Miscellany*, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> 'An Account of Proceedings from Prince Charles' Landing to Prestonpans', *Miscellany*, pp. 199-216.

<sup>3</sup> Assistant Lecturer in History in the University of Edinburgh.

Jacobite Movement which, in the correspondence of the French ambassador with his superiors in France during a critical year, is viewed in the setting of the general European situation.

These letters once more reveal the divisions in Jacobite counsels from the moment that James II landed in Ireland in March 1689. The English who were with him regarded Ireland as a mere stepping-stone to Whitehall, and they hoped to achieve that result without surrendering too much authority to the native Irish. Then there were the Anglo-Irish, comprising such families as the Dillons, Nugents, and Plunketts, who had long been resident in Ireland: they were, in fact, Irishmen, but owing to historical associations they had a definite allegiance to the English Crown. They were Catholics who were ready to fight to regain their lands and to re-establish the practice of their religion, but they had no desire to sever the connection with England. Finally there were the Gaels, who formed by far the largest part of the Jacobite army, and who were the most ardent supporters of the Stuarts. In so far as they were politically conscious at all their aim was to set up an independent Ireland, and they welcomed James as a means of achieving that end; in any scheme for the reconquest of England they were not interested at all.

It was the duty of d'Avaux to manipulate these various sections of Jacobite opinion in the interests of his master, Louis XIV; and those interests were to distract the attention of William of Orange from the Low Countries to Ireland. From these pages, the ambassador appears to have been zealous, precise, and punctilious—the eternal type of French diplomatist, who thinks that the world has been created for the benefit of France, and who is determined to see that there is no interference with the wishes of the Almighty. Saint Simon spoke of him as a handsome, well-built man of attractive demeanour, honourable, courteous, and invariably discreet. According to the Duke of Berwick he was 'a man of sense, and had acquired reputation in the different embassies he had been employed in', namely Venice and Holland, but James 'grew dissatisfied with his haughty and disrespectful manner of conducting himself'. It is true that d'Avaux was recalled after twelve months in Ireland, but, to quote Dr Hogan, 'There is no reason to think that d'Avaux's recall was regarded as being in any sense a slur on his reputation. The French King continued to entrust him with diplomatic tasks of considerable delicacy and importance.'

He certainly had no very high opinion of James II, who was far from being the dashing lieutenant of Turenne of his earlier days. The Stuart monarch had hardly landed at Kindale before d'Avaux was complaining to Louvois of his indecision and vacillation, and these criticisms are repeated throughout the correspondence until we come, in a letter to Louis XIV, to the agonised cry, 'Only God

and Your Majesty can prevent the utter ruin of the King of England.' On the other hand James did on occasion show flashes of his earlier fire. The French never made any serious attempt to use their superiority at sea to prevent Williamite forces from reaching Ireland, and they never followed up Châteaurenard's victory over Admiral Herbert in Bantry Bay. To the credit of James it must be mentioned that he did urge upon his French allies the advisability of establishing a naval base in Dublin Bay. It is clear from these volumes, however, that he was politely told to mind his own business, and yet it is interesting to see that his sense of sound strategy had not entirely deserted him.

There are continual references in these letters to the contemporary campaign of Dundee in Scotland, and James was fully determined to come to his assistance at the earliest possible moment, but when the time arrived he had nothing to spare: his best regiments had been earmarked for France in accordance with his agreement with Louis, while the unexpected resistance of Derry further deranged his plan of campaign. The project for a joint invasion of England from Ireland and Scotland died with Dundee, who had received nothing more in the way of reinforcements than a dismounted detachment of Purcell's Dragoons, who fought well at Killiecrankie, but whose ultimate fate is described in a letter, dated 11 February, 1690, from d'Avaux to his master, 'We have quite bad news from Scotland; the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment which the King of England sent there has returned and told us that the men are dead of hunger and misery, for the Highlanders have not enough food for themselves.'

The ambassador makes no secret of his likes and dislikes: high up on the list of the former comes Tyrconnel and on the latter Melfort, while it is interesting to note the growing reputation of Sarsfield as described in these reports. Of Berwick he was clearly distrustful, while of Berwick's younger brother, the Grand Prior, he writes, *C'est un jeune homme fort debauché, qui se creve tous les jours d'eau de vie, et qui a esté tout cet esté par ses debauches hors d'estat de monter á cheval*. In fine, one thing this book renders abundantly clear, and it is that Dr Hogan does not exaggerate when he says of d'Avaux that he was 'one of the ablest and most experienced diplomatists of a nation in which diplomacy had been brought to a fine art.'

CHARLES PETRIE.

THE MEDIEVAL BISHOPS OF DUNBLANE AND THEIR CHURCH. By James Hutchison Cockburn. Pp. xiv, 282. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd (for The Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral). 1959. 30s.

In this sequel to *The Celtic Church in Dunblane* Dr Cockburn carries forward his survey of the history of Dunblane diocese from the time



of the earliest bishops in the twelfth century until 1573. He has assembled a surprising amount of information from printed records which touch on Dunblane and arranged his material into a series of studies of each bishop. He is generous with his references (though they are most tediously hidden at the end of each chapter), and so the book provides a valuable and exhaustive guide to the printed sources for the history of medieval Dunblane. It is not, however, the kind of work that makes for easy reading, mainly because there is insufficient interesting material of a biographical nature available for the character to come alive. Dr Cockburn is aware of this, and so seeks to convey to the reader at the end of each biography what he has come to feel about each bishop. But such character sketches are seldom convincingly related to the evidence. The strength of the book lies rather in its survey of the sources than in its interpretation of them.

In an appendix Dr Cockburn consolidates his earlier work on the *Fasti* of the cathedral clergy of Dunblane. There is here a mass of valuable biographical information about the lesser men around the bishops, though in using such complex material the reader will ordinarily be well advised to check the references. The plan adopted is an unusual one, which appears to have the aim of demonstrating who were the groups of clergy who can now be shown to have served the cathedral during each period of ten years. This has the disadvantage that there is repeated overlapping between the various sections, which makes for difficult reading. And more dangerous is the underlying assumption here that the surviving evidence can in itself produce an adequately complete picture, for in his text too Dr Cockburn is tied rather closely in his thinking to such information as happens to have survived and been printed.

There is room for difference of opinion in the interpretation of some of the early evidence for the existence of a cathedral chapter. It is not as certain as Dr Cockburn implies that the first records of a 'chapter' indicate the clergy only at the cathedral and not those of the diocese at large; and probably it is better to regard all the 'deans' found before the time of Bishop Clement as Deans of Christianity than as presidents of any cathedral chapter. Much more questionable are Dr Cockburn's assertions without supporting evidence that the Official as such had a prebend (p. 19) and that Vicars-General were regularly appointed on a permanent basis from about 1400 (p. 20). He usually takes pains to explain difficult terms, but the reader needs to be warned that he is not always accurate, for example, about appeals from Officials' courts (p. 21), on the 'training' of residential canons (p. 23), on elections *per viam compromissi* (pp. 85, 100), or the status of a determinant at a university (p. 105). Such errors do considerably lessen the value of the parts of this book that are not strictly factual.



The general picture presented of these bishops and their church as a section of the medieval church is an unsympathetic one. That 'the medieval Church never gave itself a chance' (p. 193) is the constant theme. There is here little understanding of an age when the Pope's authority in Scotland was normally accepted as right and inevitable, and there is little sympathy with a society that depended at all levels on the working of patronage. The emphasis is on 'unendurable' interference from Rome and on financial 'corruption'. Another more parochial prejudice throughout the book is one that favours the cathedral of Dunblane against the abbey of Inchaffray. Dr Cockburn is happy to record appropriations of ecclesiastical revenues in the diocese when they enrich the cathedral, but is strongly disapproving of the practice when monasteries benefit from it. He is also much relieved that the see was not in the end in the mid-thirteenth century transferred to Inchaffray, though it is not obvious that Augustinian canons could not have served a cathedral there as well as they did at St. Andrews. He echoes the point of view of the secular clergy that Inchaffray and the other monasteries were cuckoos in the nest that took an unfair share of the available revenues.

Yet this book shows clearly that the rich if not very extensive lands of Strathearn and Menteith yielded enough to support a respectable total of clergy of one kind or another. The Bishop seems to have had unusually strong ties with his diocese, both in the early days when it was to the Earl of Strathearn rather than the King direct that he owed temporal obedience,<sup>1</sup> and later when he was customarily chosen from the local family of Chisholm. Their noble cathedral (which the illustrations in this book attractively portray) is a worthy monument of the piety and taste of the clergy of medieval Dunblane, as Dr Cockburn has for so long been concerned to demonstrate. With this book he has permanently attracted the historian's attention to the facts of the lives of men whose activities have for too long been obscure.

DONALD E. R. WATT.

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATE ALLAN GEORGE FINCH ESQ., OF BURLEY-ON-THE-HILL, RUTLAND. Volume III, A.D. 1691, with addenda, A.D. 1667-1690. Edited by Francis Bickley. Pp. lviii, 522. Her Majesty's Stationery Office: Historical Manuscripts Commission. 1957. £3 15s.

The present instalment of the Finch MSS. deals mainly with the year 1691, and since Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, was

<sup>1</sup> When an Earl of Strathearn became King as Robert II in 1371, the Bishop of Dunblane swore only fealty at the coronation, whilst the other bishops performed homage as well (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, i, 545-7). Presumably he was already Robert's man and had no need to renew such a bond.

then Secretary of State his papers throw a little light on this disturbed period, but less, it must be confessed, than one could reasonably have hoped for. It is very unfortunate that most of the space, both as regards documents and introduction, should be allotted to the war at sea—which was surely the most tedious ever. Mr Bickley tries hard to overturn this, the usual verdict, but it is the labour of Sisyphus. In this section there is nothing to interest the Scottish specialist, and in truth little to engage the attention of the general historian.

But from the point of view of epistolary art, some letters from the Countess of Nottingham to her husband deserve mention. Sharp and intimate as they are, they sparkle with a vivacity that is denied their neighbours, the dull, official despatches. They are connoisseur's pieces, and can be read again and again with no diminution of pleasure. Nottingham's mind was like the Laird o' Cockpen's, and on this score his good lady addressed to him a few acid letters in an effort to conjure out of him some precious material for, one supposes, gossip. The Secretary was then with King William at the Hague conference, and this pulls the Countess in two ways. She would welcome some gossip but is constantly diverted from her tirade on this matter by concern for her husband's welfare. She worries about his health and especially if he has been 'once drucken, of which I hear great fame here'. Later, she is alarmed by reports 'of a great deal of love and intrigues at the Hague, which you tell me nothing of, and makes me apprehensive you may be concerned in some your self, being you are so silent in what concerns others'. Happily, all was well—Nottingham was busy, and besides he was not known as 'Don Dismal' for nothing.

With a few deft but unconscious strokes the Countess of Nottingham draws a lifelike self-portrait; but the other personalities in this correspondence are curiously blurred, due no doubt to the usual inhibiting effect of official communications. King William does not appear much in these papers, although we are afforded one highly revealing insight into his nature. Ships of the French navy under Jean Bart, and the privateers of St. Malo and Dunkirk, were then serious menaces to Dutch and English shipping. Anent this, Sidney wrote to Nottingham on 3 August 1691 that it was the King's opinion that privateersmen when taken should be hanged: 'he (i.e. the King) sayth the Dutch can't doe it, but if wee did it in England it would certainlie doe a great deal of good' (p. 191). This is reminiscent of Glencoe and the extirpation of its 'damnable sect of thieves'; all the more so when we recall that it was on the express orders of William that the unfortunate Neville Payne was put to the torture in 1690.<sup>1</sup> Yet only with the greatest reluctance had the Convention of Estates in 1689 sanctioned the use of torture on the

<sup>1</sup> Register House: MS. *Reg. Sec. Concilii*, Acta, under date 10 December 1690.

murderer of Sir George Lockhart,<sup>1</sup> and shortly thereafter the practice was condemned by the Claim of Right, although unfortunately in no very precise terms. Even so, the Privy Council showed considerable concern for the hapless Payne and later remonstrated with William over his prolonged imprisonment without trial.<sup>2</sup> Further, William stands convicted not only of ruthlessness but also of hypocrisy when it is considered that in February 1690 he personally caused the Privy Council of Scotland to issue a privateer's commission to Captain John Boswell of Kirkcaldy.<sup>3</sup> The conclusion cannot be evaded: 'Great Deliverer' though he may have been, William was burdened with few scruples; and his famous statement at the taking of the coronation oath, when he declined to be a persecutor, was a triumph for good sense rather than good nature.

The most interesting items in this volume relate to Scotland and in particular to the negotiations of Breadalbane in the Highlands. Unfortunately, the volume closes before the laying of the actual train of events that was to culminate in the massacre of MacIain's wild brood; but in any event we are assured by the editor that there is nothing relating to that notorious affair among Nottingham's papers. Regrettably, too, such documents as are here printed are by no means as full or as explicit in their terms as one could wish. In consequence, they are suggestive rather than conclusive, but what they suggest is highly provocative.

They strongly indicate that Breadalbane was working conscientiously for a durable pacification of the Highlands and in this had the support of Sir John Dalrymple, although most likely their motives were very different. The Presbyterian party, including for the time being those patrician statesmen who wished to strip the Crown of its prerogative powers, did all they could to impede such a settlement. William was sluggish and could not be moved to follow up Breadalbane's preliminary work in time. And so an opportunity was lost; the Highlanders grew suspicious; and the Master of Stair, who was a thin-skinned precisian, blenched at the thought of failure which he knew would be laid to his charge. By the close of this brief correspondence optimism has given way to darker feelings, although the murderous passions that were later let loose do not stain these exchanges.

W. FERGUSON.

THE TYRANNOUS REIGN OF MARY STEWART: GEORGE BUCHANAN'S ACCOUNT. Translated and Edited by W. A. Gatherer. Pp. xiv, 228. Edinburgh: The University Press. 1958. 25s.

The hand of George Buchanan lies heavily upon the history of

<sup>1</sup> *Account of the Proceedings of the Estates of Scotland* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), i, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Reg. Sec. Con.*, letter to King William, 6 January 1691.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Reg. Sec. Con.*, Acta, 11 February 1690.

Scotland under Mary Stewart. His version of events and his biographies of eminent contemporaries were the first full-scale studies to appear either north or south of the border; and they have seeped into every history of the age, written from his day until ours. His reputation has been at stake in a long and bitter controversy, for he sits, as it were, at the other end of the political see-saw from Mary. Those who have sought to re-habilitate her have pushed him down, those who have raised him have blackened her name. What we have hitherto lacked is a scholarly and impartial testing of his work against all the sources available to modern research.

That gap has now been admirably filled by Dr Gatherer. His careful scrutiny of those sections of Buchanan's work dealing with Mary is a fascinating piece of historical investigation. What we have here is an introductory survey of Buchanan as an historian, followed by translations of the appropriate sections from his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* and of the *Detectio*, and ending with *An Admonition to the True Lords*. Every date and event mentioned has been checked wherever possible by Dr Gatherer; and his work is one of those rare cases where the footnotes are as absorbing as the text.

How does Buchanan emerge from the ordeal? Clearly, in many cases his dates are wrong and his narrative of events seriously inaccurate in important matters. Also, as Dr Gatherer well brings out, Buchanan wrote under a double prejudice: that of his political theories which, as his *De Jure Regni* shows, were fundamentally anti-monarchical; and secondly with the strongest bias towards Moray, his murdered patron.

Yet having said all this, one must be careful not to dismiss Buchanan as an irresponsible pamphleteer who distorted every fact upon which he could lay his hands. To the present reviewer, the test of his narrative and interpretation of events breaks into two parts, somewhere after the murder of Riccio. Until that event much that he writes is shown, time and time again, to be thoroughly unreliable and evasive; and Dr Gatherer has put his finger on one explanation, namely that Moray's role was ambiguous and Buchanan may therefore have had something to hide. But once the opening moves for the murder of Darnley are made, Buchanan seems to be more in line with other sources. Though it is still necessary to make important corrections to his narrative, the main record survives. On the peculiar role of Bothwell, the complicity of Mary, her subsequent irresponsible behaviour as queen, the collapse of any claim she had to the loyalty of her subjects: on all these, it seems, Buchanan as yet still stands. (Mary's account of her forcible marriage by Bothwell, as drawn up for the benefit of the French government can, for its incredible disingenuousness, have few parallels in the diplomatic exchanges between the powers.)

With this division of Buchanan's work Dr Gatherer may not be

in agreement; but it is a tribute to his careful scholarship that the reader should be able to carry away this impression from the latter part of his book. Only occasionally does he tip the scales a little against Buchanan as when he assumes (p. 25) that, because little evidence has come down to us about Riccio, fuller evidence was not available to a contemporary moving freely in high government circles. Nor can the view that Randolph was referring to Mary's compromising relations with Riccio when he spoke of a 'secret part' be negatived by the argument that Randolph did not in the same letter reveal the secret. That he deliberately said he did not want to do: it was 'not to be named for reverence sake'.

These are not major points. Dr Gatherer has performed a notable service to sixteenth-century historiography, in a book written with considerable skill and distinction. From it an interim conclusion may perhaps be drawn: namely, that Buchanan as an historian was clever and dangerous, and Mary as a queen was less clever and more dangerous. Meanwhile, we shall look forward to Dr Gatherer's further investigation of the period.

J. HURSTFIELD.

GAELIC WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS FROM SOUTH UIST AND ERISKAY,  
COLLECTED BY THE REV. FR ALLAN MACDONALD OF ERISKAY.  
Edited by J. L. Campbell. Pp. viii, 301. Dublin: The Institute  
for Advanced Studies. 1958. 18s.

Fr Allan Macdonald became parish priest of Dalibrog in S. Uist in 1884, and of Eriskay in 1893, remaining there till his death in 1905. During this time he made large and highly important collections of folklore—songs, stories, sayings, superstitions, local history, etc.—and also of lexicographical material; the editor rightly calls it 'one of the most valuable collections of general folklore associated with one particular district that has ever been brought together in Scotland'. The manuscripts of the material from it here published are in the University library at Edinburgh; they were begun in 1893 and apparently completed in 1897. The contents are of course primarily lexicographical, consisting of some 2,500 words and phrases which Fr Allan found were not in MacEachen's dictionary of 1842, or differed from those given there; but this book, with its illustrative comments and anecdotes, is very much more than a mere vocabulary—rather, a small encyclopedia of folklore, superstitions and beliefs, games, proverbs, rhymes, local history, botany, zoology, etc., all gathered by Fr Allan himself from local oral tradition. The number of rare words or usages is extraordinary, and quite a considerable number must be unrecorded elsewhere; in this respect as in others the book is a very valuable adjunct to Gaelic scholarship. One may mention as items of special interest the entries under



*àireamh*, *àirne Muire*, *aoine*, *càil* (compare Béaloideas, viii, 51 for a similar tale from Kerry), *coileach*, *crioslach* (the well-known Ùruisg story, common on the mainland but I think very rare in recorded Hebridean folklore), *fìtheach*, *grunnachadh*, *inneadh*, *nighean*, *iamhair*, *sas-a'-mhadaidh*, *teine biorach*.

The work of editing has been carried out with all the high standard of meticulously accurate scholarship that one expects of Mr Campbell and for which students of Gaelic are already very much indebted in his previous publications. A certain amount of superfluous matter has been pruned but nothing has been added without clearly indicating it—the very useful editorial notes are carefully distinguished. Many of these are Mr Campbell's own, but he has had the happy idea of circulating the MS. to a number of Hebridean Gaelic scholars for comments and additions, and in this way the local usages reported by Fr Allan are often very interestingly illustrated, confirmed, or corrected by the special local knowledge of these authorities. Included in the matter added are translations, in most cases when Fr Allan left the Gaelic untranslated, but it is a pity that these were not given in every instance. Mr Campbell prints a list of the known informants used by Fr Allan, with biographical details; another, of the printed sources he quoted; some useful notes on Eriskay pronunciations and the way Fr Allan handled them; and an appendix of about 400 additional interesting South Uist words collected by the Rev. George Henderson, the Rev. Angus Macdonald, and Mr Campbell himself. Altogether this book is a mine of immensely valuable information, and a precious contribution to that 'long overdue National Scottish Gaelic Dictionary' (p. 8) which we all agree in hoping will not be too long delayed. Mr Campbell is to be warmly congratulated and thanked for carrying out so successfully a trying task under difficult and sometimes discouraging and disappointing conditions; and so is the Dublin Institute for having the wisdom to publish it.

The following notes may be of some interest. Does not *breall bainne* mean 'reproach of the wedding'? Is *faobh* not *fadhbbh*, 'spoil, booty, trophy, conquest'? *Lir*, p. 166, can scarcely be related to *lear*; cf. Bergin in *Èriu* xiv, 140. It might have been mentioned that *nar* (p. 187) is not really 'never', but is from *na ro*, negative plus optative particle, 'may it not', and *nar bu tig* is a corruption of *na ra tig*, 'may it not come'. *Pèarda*, p. 193, pronounced like 'heard'; one might add 'in Scots', not English. The most interesting article on *Sine Reasideach* makes it clear that this personage is none other than Scheherazade, and constitutes one more piece of evidence that the Arabian Nights were known in the Hebrides (in chapbook form). The article *sluagh* provides further proof that the fairy host and the dead are really one and the same. *Smugaid na cuthaige* is evidently simply a translation of the English 'cuckoo-spit', applied to the same



object. Palatalised *tr* in the pronunciation indicated for *streamal*, and palatalised *r* in that for *treabhlaid*, can scarcely be correct.

KENNETH JACKSON.

HISTORICAL BALLADS OF DENMARK. Translated by Alexander Gray, with illustrations by Edward Bawden and George Mackie. Edinburgh: The University Press. Pp. x, 158. 1958. 30s.

Forty years of practice have made Emeritus Professor Sir Alexander Gray nigh perfect as a verse translator into Scots from German and Danish; and this latest volume displays again his admirable felicity in domesticating into authentic Scots ballad metre kindred productions of a small nation whose history touches that of Scotland at many points. There are sixteen ballads, concerned with events from 1151 to 1408, a period from which Scotland has little extant. But their concern is less with the events that originally occasioned them than with the personalities involved and, especially their tragic moments. From a literary viewpoint perhaps the most interesting is the Marsk Stig cycle, from an historical viewpoint the ballad of Niels Ebbesen. There are many shrewd and witty comments in Sir Alexander's introduction and notes, on the general problem of what an historical ballad is, and on Danish balladry in particular. The illustrations are varied and mostly effective; the handsomely bound volume is printed on papers of four different shades, which suit the illustrations better than the type, excellent though that is. Curious vistas of Danish folklore emerge. Who would have thought that a medieval Dane, to express renunciation of allegiance, doffed his hat? I doff mine to Sir Alexander in another sense.

DOUGLAS YOUNG.

THE CARDINAL KING. By Brian Fothergill. Pp. 272. London: Faber and Faber. 1958. 30s.

There is not much doubt that Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, as a man was an unmitigated bore. Even Pope Benedict XIV remarked that if all the Stuarts were as boring as the Cardinal, he did not wonder that the English had got rid of them. Born in 1725, four years after his better-known brother Charles Edward, Henry Benedict Stuart seems to have been the more vivacious of the two children, though in appearance they were very similar and their portraits are frequently transposed. By 1742 Charles was beginning to look upon himself as Prince Regent one day to be King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, whereas Henry became neurotic and pious, convinced that his vocation was the Church. His mother

Clementina had been a deeply religious woman, and his father James spent a great deal of his time communing with cardinals and confessors.

After a brief attempt to appear martial in 1745, Henry eventually wrecked any faint hopes that the Jacobites may have had after the failure of the Rising, by deserting his brother's dinner table on 29 April 1747, and riding to Rome to become a Cardinal. Although not forgiven by Charles for many years, Henry indeed found his vocation in the Church. He was ordained priest in September 1748, and from Archpriest of the Vatican Basilica, he became Camerlengo in April 1758, an office of high importance for, during the vacancy of the Holy See, it is the duty of the Cardinal Camerlengo to arrange for the Conclave which elects a new Pope.

In 1760 George II died suddenly while performing one of the natural functions of everyday life, and George III succeeded him with as little fuss as if a rival claimant to his throne had not existed.

In 1761 Henry was presented by Pope Clement XIII with the See of Frascati, and it is with that town that he will always be associated. He was Bishop for fifty years and as Cardinal Wiseman remarked, 'Whatever else may have been wanting for his title, to a royal heart he was no pretender. His charities were without bounds; poverty and distress were unknown in his see.'

When Charles died on 30 January 1788, Henry became in his own eyes and in those of a few others, Henry IX, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and, for the rest of his life, disturbed as it was by Napoleon who practically deprived him of all his possessions, he remained Henry IX. It is always pleasing to be reminded that his poverty-stricken old age was generously eased by a life pension of £4,000 granted to him by his Hanoverian counterpart George III.

Henry died on 13 July 1807, a greatly beloved and revered figure of the Roman Catholic Church. His library, depleted but still a magnificent collection, is now housed in the Vatican where it was taken from Frascati at the beginning of the last War. It seems most unfortunate that it should not be housed at Windsor where it would make a fitting complement to the Stuart papers.

Mr Fothergill has had a certain amount of trouble, in the first part of his book, in disentangling the lives of Henry and Charles, and he relies perhaps too much on the despatches of Walton. He has also drawn largely on the standard lives of Henry by Alice Shield and Herbert Vaughan, with liberal quotations from the works of the late Henrietta and Alistair Tayler. His choice of portrait for frontispiece and dust-wrapper is not very happy, as the Cardinal King, judging from his other portraits, did not look quite so sheep-like. But he has produced a straightforward biography which will be read with interest by those for whom the Stuarts still hold a certain fascination.

DONALD NICHOLAS.

SHETLAND LIFE UNDER EARL PATRICK. By Gordon Donaldson. Pp. viii, 150, 16 plates. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1958. 15s.

To attempt a balanced reconstruction of life in Shetland in the early seventeenth century mainly on the basis of criminal court proceedings recorded in the years 1602-4<sup>1</sup> might seem an uphill task. The success with which Dr Donaldson has achieved his aim, and the fascination of much of the new material he presents—supplemented from near-contemporary inventories, isolated documents, and somewhat later descriptions of Shetland—clearly show that, even for some remote areas, sufficient sources are not lacking for the detailed regional studies of the social and economic life of the country, before the changes of the eighteenth century, that are so greatly needed.

About a third of this book is concerned with Shetland's administrative framework and legal procedure. Although 150 years had passed since the islands had been annexed to the Scottish kingdom, Norse practices and customs remained prominent, and the laws of udal inheritance were still carefully observed. A rather unexpected conclusion here is that Earl Patrick's rule was not arbitrary in the technical sense, though the law was used rigorously for his 'gain and commodity'. In this the Earl was hardly exceptional for his time; and a recent study of the Derby and Atholl regime in the former Norse kingdom of Man provides an instructive parallel (David Craine, *Mannanan's Isle*, 1955, especially pp. 36-48).

The remaining two-thirds of the volume deals in turn with 'The Land', 'The Sea', and 'The People'; and the narrative gains by contrasting with present imports the former reliance on home-grown food (involving, incidentally, a much higher ratio of cattle to sheep), the use of water-transport for internal communication wherever possible instead of roads, and the widespread lawlessness of the old Shetlanders as against the law-abiding community of today.

Among the many interesting subjects discussed, an important conclusion is reached as to the method of turning arable ground. A well-known feature of traditional farming in Shetland was the use of spade-teams for this instead of ploughing, a custom also known in other peripheral regions of north-western Europe and thought to derive from a formerly widespread ancient practice. That ox-ploughs were known in seventeenth-century Shetland has long been realised, but Dr Donaldson goes further, and now maintains that 'In working the land, seventeenth-century Shetlanders were not dependent on the spade, but used ploughs. . . . If the plough was thus in general use in those days, it became less practicable in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the subdivision of holdings,

<sup>1</sup> *The Court Book of Shetland, 1602-1604*. Ed. Gordon Donaldson. Scottish Record Soc. 1954.

and the prevailing practice came to be to turn over the small cultivated strips of land with the spade'. Although the same explanation is now urged for the same phenomenon in Ireland, and must be substantially correct, the evidence quoted by Dr Donaldson does not make it clear that spades were not used for arable cultivation in Earl Patrick's time, in addition to ox-ploughs. Both were so used in the seventeenth century in Orkney, Caithness, and even in parts of the Outer Hebrides, where the spade was regarded as more effective than ploughing, and its use long ante-dates the subdivision of holdings which followed the introduction of the potato in the eighteenth century. That this was so in Shetland also is suggested by an incident quoted by Dr Donaldson himself to show the misuse of spades as offensive weapons—such was the reason for their appearance in his sources—where a Dunrossness man, 'Thomas in Westvoe on his own rig' was struck with a spade shaft and in consequence 'could not labour the whole seed-time past'. The essential point is that we have always to allow for variation and diversity, even in small communities, as these elements often have a greater significance for cultural and economic studies than the documents at first suggest.

Few aspects of Shetland life of the day escape notice in this book, though the publisher's assertion that it gives 'an unusually detailed . . . description of the entire economy' is certainly an overstatement. To assess his achievement fairly, however, one has to know the author's purpose. What he has given us is a balanced picture of local conditions for the general reader, perhaps more particularly the Shetland reader. The specialist will also benefit from it, though he may well regret that, with his first-hand knowledge of all the written sources, Dr Donaldson has not given us a fully-documented study of the brief period he has chosen and which this in many ways uniquely interesting region so richly deserves.

From this point of view the most useful material would appear to be the inventories of moveable goods, of which there are about a thousand available in the Shetland Record of Testaments for the first half of the seventeenth century, and 'a large number' of these were analysed for the book. Neither the inventories nor analyses of their contents have ever been published, and one cannot but regret that the opportunity has again been missed—only names of parties were listed in the relevant Record Society publication. An appendix giving, in abbreviated form, a systematic analysis of even the first few years of the series would have greatly enhanced the value of the book. Instead, information from this source, often in generalised form, is scattered through the various chapters.

As the first chapter opens with the statement that 'The foundation of Shetland's economy and life was the land', some attempt to relate the evidence for the pastoral and arable usage of the period to the

topography would have been helpful. We are not told whether it is possible to identify any of the properties referred to, nor are we given any clear idea of the lay-out of holdings even by inference from later practice—nor even told where to seek such information. (O'Dell's *Historical Geography of the Shetland Isles*, 1939, might be added to the bibliographical references.)

For the scholar the index is a disappointment as it only contains place-names (in modern form) and a plethora of personal names (many of these lacking surnames), both of which are already more completely accessible in the Record Society volumes. Subjects and local terms are not indexed, and the arrangement of the book does not always assist in locating them: for instance, *skeos* are mentioned—but not defined—in the chapter on 'The Sea' (p. 50), while their use is discussed in the chapter on 'The People' (p. 96), though the earlier chapter contains no indication of this.

The photographs which are an attractive feature of the book show, with one exception, recent survivals of traditional practice on land and sea, four out of the sixteen illustrating resemblances between the beautiful open fishing-boats of parts of Norway, Iceland, Faeroe and Shetland at the present time. Such vessels were prefabricated in Norway for export to Shetland and elsewhere as late as last century (a point not mentioned by the author) so that present resemblances may not be strictly relevant to a discussion of Viking origins and the Shetland boats of Earl Patrick's day (p. 47). Neither the man-drawn harrow (plate 1) nor the so-called Norse mills (plate 16) appear to figure in the sources, but this may serve as a salutary reminder of the limitations of documentary evidence.

Despite some specialist reservations, the book is abundantly welcome both for its own sake and for the encouragement it will undoubtedly give to others working on social and economic aspects of Scottish history.

B. R. S. MEGAW.

THE LAG CHARTERS 1400-1720. Calendared by the late Sir Philip Hamilton Grierson and edited by Athol Murray. Pp. 71. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society. 1958.

The days are long past when it was fashionable to produce sumptuous family histories. Yet something on those lines may have been in the mind of Sir Philip Hamilton Grierson when he prepared this Calendar of charters and essayed a 'history of the Grierson family' of which a typed copy is in the Hornel Library at Kirkcudbright. The Scottish Record Society has done well in publishing this Calendar which forms almost an unbroken progress of title from about 1400 to the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is furnished with a brief but succinct introductory note on the Griersons



of Lag down to the first Baronet supplied by Lt.-Col. J. R. H. Greeves who also gave the Society a generous grant towards publication. The Calendar runs to 268 items to which the editor has added an appendix of 42 documents from other sources which enrich the collection.

The family seems to have originated in Ayrshire, when first heard of on record, in the person of Gilbert Grersoun described on his seal as 'son of Duncan'. It is obvious that the family was then of good standing and it may yet be possible to trace it further back when further private muniments of Ayrshire become accessible. The Calendar is of first-rate local interest to the historian, the genealogist and the topographer, and should prove an invaluable quarry for those interested in the history of Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry. Thus what little is known of the distribution of Temple lands can be augmented from a resignation of 1642 (no. 227) where mention is made of four acres of Templands sometime pertaining to the vicars of Lochmaben in that parish. This refers to the long finger of land in that parish that protrudes down between the parish marches of Mouswald and Torthorwald embracing the Mote of Rokalheid and a long extinct chapel of which the only surviving fragment is a carved corbel in the Dumfries Museum. Much local history may lie concealed behind this entry.

A few graphic incidents figure in these documents. In 1515 an attorney for John Grersoun of Lag appeared before Hailes Castle in Lothian demanding access to William lord Hereis who was within the castle, seeking infeftment for Lag in the lands of Larglanlie of which Hereis was the superior. The Constable of the castle refused admittance as Hereis did not wish to assent, and the attorney by way of protest affixed a copy of the unsigned precept to the gate of the castle and a fortnight later did the same at the principal messuage of Terregles (nos. 76-77).

Students of the Covenanting period will seek in vain for reference to the activities of 'Bloody Lag' but will welcome at the hand of the same editor a paper on 'Auld Lag' with many documents such as lists of prisoners, depositions of witnesses and expenses of the Persecutor<sup>1</sup> which provide a new and authentic picture of that almost legendary figure of Covenanting days.

R. C. REID.

*Puritanism and Revolution* by Christopher Hill (pp. x, 402. London: Secker and Warburg. 1958) is a collection of essays written at different times during the past two decades, treating movements and personalities of the English seventeenth century in terms of the

<sup>1</sup> *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Transactions*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 149-174.



economic and social forces behind the revolutionary pressures of puritanism. It may not be fair, then, to stress any one quotation, or to expect complete consistency of argument, especially since Mr Hill's footnotes draw attention not only to criticism provoked by the original publication, but also to later research which may modify the original argument. The thread running through these essays is the evolution of bourgeois society. To speak, he remarks, of a puritan revolution or a bourgeois revolution may be a false antithesis, for the fundamental concepts of puritan thought are bourgeois. It is claimed that the English civil war is more of a class war than orthodox history is willing to recognise. Merchant capitalism was the force shaping agrarian legislation of the interregnum at the expense of the traditional aristocracy and the yeoman backbone of England. The army found itself temporarily successful in its clash with the London merchants and their parliamentary allies, but its ranks were so divided by economic interests and so estranged from the mass of the population, that it was comparatively easy for the champions of the rights of property to achieve the Restoration of 1660—a Restoration, however, which accepted capitalism in the eagerness of its 'improving' nobility. In the same way, the rights of property obliterated party lines in the revolution of 1688. Appeals to natural rights had little success when opposed by rights of property. The shifting power in the class most affected by the changing land settlements between the dissolution of the monasteries and 1688 underlay the pressure of capitalism upon religious and social developments. The protestant and capitalist ethic on the offensive helped the treatment of poverty as a social problem but also helped to justify the capitalist emphasis upon hard work and the discipline of an economy dependent on a labour pool. The political sermons of the Reverend John Preston, puritan, scholar, and courtier, voiced the interests of the kingdom of grace and of the republic of commerce; and their denunciations of sin took forms very close to demands for a change of government, under threats of divine vengeance, which did not rule out the possibility of revolutionary violence. Mr Hill's interest in Clarendon and Hobbes, Marvell and Richardson, is determined by the awareness of bourgeois concepts revealed in historical, philosophical and literary writings. He is fully aware of the complex interrelationship of the economic and the ideological. If men's ideas are shaped by their economic environment, yet economic and social theories also help to change that economic environment. This awareness of the complexity of forces behind the revolutionary situation in mid-seventeenth-century England is developed most acutely in the opening essay in which differing interpretations of the civil wars are discussed. The views of Tawney, Trevor Roper, Brunton and Pennington (but not Miss Wedgwood) are subjected to criticism, especially on the ground that material conflicts are not the only ones deserving serious analysis,

and, again, because the conflict should not be interpreted in crudely economic terms, since the gains of the civil war extended beyond the ranks of property-owners. Large numbers of men and women, he agrees, were drawn into political activity by religious and political ideals as well as by economic necessities, but it seems to be understood that such ideals are not independent of economic environment. Mr Hill favours the historical approach of Adam Smith and John Millar, to whom the development of a commercial out of a feudal society was the main dividing principle. His conclusion is the need to return to seventeenth-century interpretations of the civil wars, supported by modern study of industrial history and the relation between puritanism and the rise of capitalism. This requires above all that we 'widen our view so as to embrace the total activity of society. Any event so complex as a revolution must be seen as a whole.' It is probable that here is no retreat from economic determinism but an insistence upon the economic as the ultimate factor, operating often indirectly as a unifying force in the varied manifestations of seventeenth-century society.

DOUGLAS NOBBS.

*BIBLIOTHECA CELTICA, a Register of Publications Relating to Wales and the Celtic Peoples and Languages.* 3rd Series, volume V, 1957. Pp. viii, 116. Aberystwyth: the National Library of Wales. 1958.

As a bibliography of works relating to every aspect of Welsh language, literature, history, geography, archaeology, economics, etc. this is a first-rate work; as indeed is to be expected in the circumstances. It ranges from such things as *Das kymrische Lautsystem to Bilingualism and non-verbal Intelligence*; from the medieval *Mabinogion* tales to the latest play; from *A Corpus of Welsh Bronze Age Pottery* and *The Castles of Cardiganshire* to *Water Resources and the Welsh Economy* and *Early Cinemas in Wales*. Every publication that conceivably touches on Wales seems to have been combed.

The rest is not so thorough, and one wonders whether it would not have been better either to change the title and drop out everything but Wales, or else to make it a real 'Celtic' bibliography by bringing the other sections up to the standard of the Welsh ones. Out of 104 pages, Wales gets about 64, Ireland about 15, Scotland 5½, Brittany 5, Gaul 4, general Celtic 3½, the Arthurian problem 2½, British 2, Manx ½; and Cornish one title. If early cinemas in Wales count as Celtic studies, does not Malcolm Gray's *The Highland Economy, 1750-1850* (Edinburgh, 1957), to pick a Scottish title entirely at random? Apparently not. This is the more unfortunate now that *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies* has ceased to publish a Celtic section, and the *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* never appears, so

that Celtic scholars are deprived of the chief bibliographies once available. But one must not be churlish, and anyone concerned with any side of Welsh studies will be profoundly grateful for this little book.

K.J.

THE CLAN MACKINNON. *A Short History*. By Flight Lieutenant C. R. Mackinnon, F.S.A.(Scot.), R.A.F. Pp. 40. Printed by Wm. Culross and Son Ltd. Coupar Angus, Perthshire. N.D. [1958]. 5s.

Several previous publications on the Clan Mackinnon have for long been out of print, and there was room for a work such as the present short history. It is disappointing, however, to find that it does not justify itself in other ways. Most of the sources cited in the bibliography can hardly be described as even secondary, so that the author often seems not to know where the information he gives originally comes from; and it is not surprising to find errors in earlier publications repeated here once more.

One of the most damaging of these errors is the ascription to the Irish annalist Tigernach of a genealogy of the Mackinnons which in fact first appears in a MS. written in 1467, with the result that the emergence of the clan is ante-dated by some three centuries. The genealogy in question, which refers to a period of seven generations back from *circa* 1400 to the eponymous ancestor of the clan, is probably authentic for these generations, but it is here rejected in favour of a bogus descent from a brother of King Kenneth Mac Alpin—a descent supposed to be shared with the MacGregors, Macnabs, MacAulays, Macphies, Grants, and MacQuarries. This account of their affiliations was assiduously canvassed by the Mackinnons themselves in the seventeenth century, probably for reasons of clan policy, the bards and *seanchaidhean* dutifully falling into line. The Mackinnons were certainly neighbours of the MacQuarries and the Macphies early in their history, but the absurdity is manifest of linking them for example with the Grants, who bear the marks of a Norman origin. It is surely time that such fables should be forgotten. Unfortunately the Mackinnons are by no means the only clan still saddled with the unhistorical conjectures and inventions of the past.

The author states that he wrote this account in the first place for his own children. While one may applaud the spirit which prompted him to do so, it is regrettable that the work should have been given to the public without a more thoroughgoing and discriminating investigation even of printed sources.

W.M.

THE STUARTS. By J. P. Kenyon. Pp. 240. London: Batsford. 1958. 25s.

Unlike the author's *Life* of the Earl of Sunderland this book is not an original contribution to knowledge but a series of vignettes sketched by an antagonistic Englishman. Scotland is not mentioned in the index and rarely throughout the pages. This is perhaps as well, for Dr Kenyon writes of James VI's 'unhappy, uncivilised kingdom', calls the Scottish lairds 'a mean, blinkered, embittered class scraping a precarious living from their stony acres, presbytery-ridden and disunited' and refers to 'the Solemn League and Covenant in 1638'.

The descriptions of the Stuart rulers from 1603 are markedly Freudian in tone and couched in pungent phrases indicative rather of a desire for smart writing than of mature judgment. The appraisal of the first of them, laying stress on his alleged homosexuality, has much in common with that of Mr D. H. Willson, who is frequently quoted. A typical sentence runs, 'His concupiscent eyes were already lolling upon a new catamite.' He is compared later to a giggling dowager. The author admits, however, that in statecraft James always knew the right thing to do, though he always lacked strength to do it.

Charles I he calls 'nothing if not heterosexual', but opines that Henrietta Maria was no substitute for the 'sensual vision' of the Spanish Infanta. He thinks that all his adult life Charles was acting a part. 'Charles' royal word', he writes, 'was not worth a farthing and everyone knew it.' But he acknowledges that at his trial he 'rose magnificently to the occasion', creating 'the myth of his own martyrdom as surely as Napoleon created Bonapartism on St. Helena'.

The matrimonial irregularities of Charles II give Dr Kenyon ample scope. 'Charles' taste in women was catholic, ranging in later years from the ice-cold, ice-blue loveliness of "la belle Stuart" to the black-ringed voluptuousness of actress Nelly; he was not so much a gourmet as a gourmand.' His mistresses are described and the political influence of the Duchess of Cleveland and the Duchess of Portsmouth compared.

The author considers James VII and II the most English of the line though the least successful. He attributes his failure to 'apprehension, not aggressiveness' as well as to divided counsels among the Roman Catholics at court. The warming-pan legend is properly dismissed but the physiological details of the Queen's pregnancy might have been omitted even from a footnote.

William of Orange comes in for some commendation. While his liaison with Elizabeth Villiers is given its place and the 'deep homosexual strain' of his friendship for Portland emphasised, 'every aspect of William's life, his health included, is a demonstration of what tenacity and will-power can make of poor material'. The

military successes of the next reign are attributed in large part to his selection and his training of military personnel. Mary's unselfish devotion to her husband and the Church is emphasised in contrast to her 'terrible apostasy to her father', but her political influence in William's absences abroad was not so 'entirely passive' as the author suggests.

It is for Anne that Dr Kenyon reserves his bitterest contempt. She was 'the quintessence of ordinariness'. She had 'more than her fair share of small-mindedness, vulgarity and downright meanness.' 'She hated her lovely Italian step-mother with all the viciousness of her mean spirit.' In her ungrateful dismissal of Marlborough and Godolphin 'she was a Stuart through and through'. Readers may prefer Dr Trevelyan's tribute to the 'moderation, good sense and humanity' of the 'wisest and most triumphant of her race'.

The author's lashes are not inflicted only on the Stuarts. Sir John Eliot 'threshing and stamping like some wounded dragon spat out his venom right and left'. Again, of Strafford, 'Black Tom the tyrant was a figure of horror'. Charles II's companions in exile were 'a gaggle of meddlesome, quarrelsome and presumptuous advisers'. Evelyn's *Diary* is 'insipid'. Lord Wharton, whose indecency need not have been described, was 'a lecher after other men's women'. Harley is called 'cunning, weasel-toothed, sharp-sighted', Tenison and Sharp 'those two terrible old archbishops'.

Dr Kenyon is too good a scholar to make mistakes in English history, but a few slips have crept in. James's first parliament lasted till 1611 (p. 45). Laud's visitation was not of his 'huge diocese', which comprised merely part of Kent, but of his large province (p. 87). The Army Plot was in 1641, not 1640 (p. 97). On the same page it is not made clear that the Self-Perpetuating Act applied only to the Long Parliament. If Charles II talked no more of his own conversion after the Treaty of Dover (p. 133), why did he issue the Declaration of Indulgence? Was not the Test Act a reason why James should not be restored to command of the Navy in 1682 (p. 154)?

There are only two or three misprints in the whole book—'illusion' on page 43 and 'artiasns' on page 102; and perhaps 'could' should read 'would' on page 46, line 12.

As befits a Batsford book, the illustrations are plentiful, if reproduced here with unequal success. They include portraits of the kings and queens and of Charles II's mistresses. Perhaps the most interesting are the Stuart medals and the playing-cards depicting incidents in the Revolution of 1688.

E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE.



THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Vol. I, *The British Isles and the American Colonies, Great Britain and Ireland 1748-1754*. By Lawrence Henry Gipson. Pp. xiii, 246, xx; 7 maps. New York: Knopf. 1958. \$8.50.

Although three volumes of Professor Gipson's projected twelve-volume *magnum opus* have yet to appear, he has already begun to revise his work. This is demonstrated in the new edition of Volume I. In the twenty-five years since the first edition, the proliferation of eighteenth-century British studies has provided him with ample material.

A notable feature of the original Volume I was the emphasis which it placed on regional differences within the British Isles. This is increased in the new edition by the addition of a chapter on Wales. Why Professor Gipson did not include such a chapter in the first version is something of a mystery, especially since it was dedicated to his old Oxford tutor who was a Welshman. As if to make up for this lost opportunity, Professor Gipson increases the Welsh note in the new dedication.

The most important addition to his Scottish chapter is a four-page section on the eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual renaissance. By its rather weak indication of the causes of this renaissance and its position at the end of the chapter, this section has something of the character of an afterthought. This is a pity because it is becoming increasingly clear that, of all the Scottish influences on emerging America, the intellectual was perhaps the more important, and it deserves greater emphasis than Professor Gipson gives it. Furthermore, it is possible that he has over-estimated the economic consequences of the Union, although he is restrained on the Scottish tobacco trade with the Chesapeake area which is to be dealt with more fully in the next volume. In this chapter, as in the others, the footnotes are expanded to give some indication of new eighteenth-century studies which have appeared in the last quarter of a century.

As in the original first volume, Professor Gipson's most notable contribution is his moving account of Ireland. Historians who believe that British history has much to gain from increased regional study will welcome this emphasis in his work. But, although he provides a colourful picture of the various regions of Britain, his strategically-placed chapter, 'The Hub of the Empire', makes it very clear that this hub was in the south.

Professor Gipson's work has not always received the welcome that it deserves from British historians. Perhaps it would be more favourably received if the publishers reduced the price a little: \$8.50 seems a lot to pay for two hundred and seventy pages of big print.

GEORGE SHEPPERSON.



HISTORY IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL. By C. F. Strong. Pp. 192.  
London: University of London Press. 1958. 10s. 6d.

Dr Strong writes for those who teach pupils 'of a non-academic type but of average reading ability'. After chapters on the evolution of Secondary Education in England, on changes in the conception of History as an adult study and on the justification for History in a school curriculum, he gives three chapters to methods of teaching and one to a plan for a four-year course (not readily adaptable to the shorter Scottish Junior Secondary course). There is an appendix giving sources of visual aids material, and another listing books useful to the teacher—curiously omitting R. G. Collingwood's *Idea of History*.

Dr Strong regards History as a record of objective facts, subjectively selected: 'the story of the living past which merges into the present technical age'; to be studied in schools because democracy, to survive in our technological revolution, must be creatively supported by a body of informed opinion. 'The ultimate justification of any history teaching in the schools today is to assist the growth of a more intelligent citizenship in the adult world of tomorrow.' The syllabus suggested, for a time-allocation of two periods a week, may daunt the teacher. It comprises the development of civilisation through the study of a succession of broad periods, bearing in mind that Europe is no longer important and that its past should be regarded as merely among the formative influences that have made the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The teacher, starting in pre-history and thinking steadily in terms of the whole world but avoiding the summary treatment which would impart 'inert ideas', should give particular attention to the last two centuries and should include current affairs as the 'complement and crown' of the course.

The non-specialist who finds himself teaching some History to Junior Secondary classes may find stimulus in this book, and many useful (though not unusual) suggestions for method. The qualified specialist may be impatient that he is required to produce citizens rather than full men: that no importance is attached to what his subject can do in developing criticism, a demand for evidence, the lucid presentation of an argument, emotional awareness of old buildings and ceremonies as 'standing witnesses between those who see them now and those by whom they once were seen'. He may even think that some adolescent enquiry into Scotland's formative past will produce fewer inert ideas and a more vigorous democracy than Dr Strong's suggested course.

A. RAE.

In his David Murray Lecture, in 1947, the late Dr Meikle remarked that 'the social and economic history of Scotland in the

seventeenth century has yet to be written'. Since then, the pioneer efforts of W. R. Scott, Theodora Keith and G. P. Insh (to which he referred), have been supplemented, notably by Dr Gordon Donaldson's *Shetland Life under Earl Patrick*. A small but welcome addition is now made by S. G. E. Lythe of Queen's College, Dundee, who has already contributed from his research to our knowledge of the period, particularly as regards Scottish trade with the Baltic. *Life and Labour in Dundee from the Reformation to the Civil War* (pp. 30. 5s. 6d.) is the fifth of the Publications of the Abertay Historical Society, whose authoritative studies of local history set a model that might well be followed elsewhere.

Based largely on local records, of which relatively much has happily survived, the booklet vividly describes contemporary conditions in Dundee, and also illustrates the main economic features of the century. These include: the persistence of handicraft industry and the supplementing of its products by the import of luxuries; the rivalry of merchants and craftsmen in local administration (which 'reveals divisions between reasonably affluent groups'); the existence of a proletariat outwith the gilds and liable to pauperism (luridly depicted in William Blane's Dundee historical novel *Witches' Blood*); the assertion of the trading privileges of the royal burghs; their dependence for 'economic wellbeing on regular connections with their rural hinterland', with liability to shortage of supplies in cases of local failure of crops; and the flourishing trade, chiefly exchange of raw materials, primarily between east coast ports and Scandinavia and the Baltic.

Finally the disastrous setback given to Scottish economic progress by the Civil War is dramatically exemplified by the injury to Dundee, culminating in its sack by Monk (1651) which 'bore many resemblances to what his master had done to Drogheda'. Dundee, recovering rapidly from similar havoc in the 'Somerset Invasion' of the mid-sixteenth century, had previously 'participated in the material progress of Western Europe in general and of Scotland in particular. In a sense the period saw the final and richest blossoming of Scotland's medieval economy'.

W. H. MARWICK.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RURAL LAND ECONOMY AND OWNERSHIP, 1900-1957.

By D. R. Denman, J. F. Q. Switzer, and O. H. M. Sawyer.  
Pp. xii, 412. Cambridge: Department of Estate Management.  
1958. 35s.

This book aims at providing a comprehensive bibliography of all books, articles, memoranda and periodicals published in Britain between 1900 and 1956 relating to rural landownership and tenure in this country. It thus includes a great diversity of items, from

Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor*, first published in 1904, to the 1954 *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions*. It is important to notice what is excluded. There is no attempt to include works on urban landownership. There are no references to official or other British publications dealing with landownership in overseas territories. There is a section relating to foreign works, mostly German, but this occupies only sixteen pages, and is supplemented only by a scattering of works dealing with foreign countries and written in English. At a rough computation, the total number of works mentioned is almost six thousand.

The authors make no attempt to comment upon or summarise the works which they catalogue. On the other hand, the bibliography is arranged in an orderly and helpful manner. There are two main lists. One is an alphabetical list of authors, with references to the other list, which classifies the titles according to subjects in groups and sub-classes of groups. Anyone who knows what he wants, even in the most general way, should be able to find it; and there is not much doubt that the authors have included, within the limits which they have set themselves, about everything there is.

There is no doubt that landownership is a most important matter. It is not quite so certain, however, that problems of rural landownership in Britain deserve quite so exhaustive a bibliography as is provided here. The important problems arise nowadays, and perhaps arose in the past more often than we suspect, in connection with urban landownership, or with the passage of land from rural to urban uses. To confine the topic to rural landownership seems therefore a little unfortunate. It is also to be regretted that so perfunctory an attempt was made to provide a list of works dealing with foreign countries, and still more that no attempt was made to include anything about the colonial territories. There is some most valuable information on landownership in colonial territories, some of it published by the Colonial Office and some in books by private authors. It is all in English, and it is eminently accessible. Nowhere are problems of landownership more important than in the colonial territories; nowhere are more far-reaching changes taking place or likely to take place. The marginal returns to the editorial labour expended on this volume must have been, in some directions, pretty low. However, there can be no doubt that this is an exhaustive bibliography, and it must prove an asset to scholarship in those fields where the editors' interests have lain.

A. J. YOUNGSON.

THE JACOBITE MOVEMENT. By Sir Charles Petrie, Bart. Pp. 500. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1959. 35s.

After a succession of writers have plodded heavily over the well trodden ground covered by the Highland army during the nine

months campaign of 1745-6, this new and enlarged edition of Sir Charles Petrie's comprehensive work *The Jacobite Movement* is a welcome publication.

The book is informative and provocative; and its scope is comprehensive. It not only deals with plots, disturbances and fighting in Great Britain and Ireland, but also with repercussions to the movement in European countries, and even in America. At the close of a brilliantly written prologue, embracing the reigns of the last five Stuart sovereigns, the curtain is rung up for the three acts of the actual Jacobite drama—The 'Fifteen, The 'Nineteen, and The 'Forty-Five. The reader, well grounded in all that has gone before, is then left to do a good deal of independent thinking—a useful exercise for anyone desirous of obtaining a comprehensive grasp of the period under review.

Every reader will agree with the author's verdict that 'Mar was a man who, almost unwittingly, had let loose a tempest which he had not the faintest idea how to control, and a more ineffective insurgent . . . never plunged two kingdoms into civil strife.' This is the more lamentable after Sir Charles's fine portrayal of the characters of the exiled King James, who would, in all probability, have made one of the best kings in our annals, and of his brother, the Marshal Duke of Berwick who, had he obtained release from the French army, might well have succeeded in placing him upon his father's throne.

Accounts of the mismanaged campaigns of 1715 and 1719 make sorry reading; but it is unfortunate that only one of the 481 pages of the text deals with the fight at Glenshiel. The statement that the 'Spanish infantry, as always, stood firm, but its allies were routed' needs qualifying by the explanation that these foreigners were sheltered behind a strong barrier in a deep ravine, where no casualties were reported, and that the Highlanders on the hillside stood exposed for two hours to the enemy's fire, Lord George Murray's men retreating only when the heather was set ablaze.

Like other writers Sir Charles has failed to stress how the inability of these invaders to advance from the coast deterred potential supporters from rising in arms in the early stages of the 'Forty-Five. Neither has he pointed out that the severe sentences passed upon Englishmen and Lowlanders captured at Preston, and the escape of Mar's Highland followers to their mountains, accounted for the fact that only a ninth of Prince Charles's men were recruited south of the Forth. It is a loss that Sir Charles, in his masterly fashion, has not dealt with this matter, nor with the question whether the disastrous winters of 1743-5, which left once prosperous men no recourse but soldiering, made the last Jacobite attempt feasible. The work of Broughton and the equally indefatigable Perth, the recorded comings and goings of secret agents and the varied receptions they met with in clan territories, would have given more enlightenment on the

situation than accounts of English grumbling about the Hanoverian regime—grumbling that, as ever, led to nothing.

In no other account of the Jacobite campaigns has the background been filled in with such care; but the foreground is almost devoid of the colourful figures of the Highland chiefs and their clansmen, but for whose devotion to the Stuart dynasty Jacobitism must have ended in that depressing and unheroic episode—the Irish War of 1689-91. Little is said of their gallant charges at Falkirk (where, we are told, an Irish regiment saved the day), or at Culloden where, writes Sir Charles: 'The only Jacobite success was when some English cavalry advanced rather incautiously, and were checked by the steady fire of the Irish.' He omits to mention that this portion of FitzJames's Horse, spared from guarding the Prince's person, held Cumberland's dragoons at bay with the help of that gallant, effective, but much maligned officer Lord Elcho and his Life Guards, and that neither regiment would have been at the point where it was needed had it not been for the foresight of Lord George Murray.

'The differences between the Irish and the Scottish Jacobites bedevilled the whole Jacobite Movement, . . . ' says Sir Charles. 'The Irish were mostly professional soldiers, and tended to despise the Scots as mere amateurs; . . . and last, but not least, they were men of the world. The Scots . . . on the other hand . . . were largely untravelled, and they must have made a poor show in conversation compared with their Irish colleagues whose wits had been sharpened at the Courts of Versailles and Madrid.'

Few Scots will agree with this opinion that Prince Charles's leading officers, the majority of whom had been educated at Scottish Universities, or French Academies and Colleges, were intellectually the inferiors of the Irish soldiers of fortune who, save for a very few exceptions, were men of low rank, unlikely to have frequented courts. Lord Elcho is hardly deserving of blame for casting aspersions upon the courage of O'Sullivan, whose absence from places of danger during various battles was the talk of the army.

The closing chapters 'The Elibank Plot 1749-53' and 'The Jacobite Twilight 1753-1807,' form a fine epilogue to what must be the most complete work about the efforts to restore the exiled House of Stuart to the throne.

KATHERINE TOMASSON.

AYRSHIRE AT THE TIME OF BURNS. Edited by John Strawhorn. Pp. 379. Collections of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, vol. V. 1959. 30s.

Of all the Burns Bicentenary publications, none will be more welcomed by Burns students than this volume which has been produced by the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History



Society. It was a happy thought on the part of this Society to join in the commemoration of the Bicentenary by issuing a special publication dealing with the Ayrshire in which the poet was born and grew up, and by making it available not only to members of the Society, but to a much wider public. This was made possible by the support of the Burns Federation and other bodies, who readily agreed to subscribe for copies, and to whom the Society's thanks is officially expressed.

It is accompanied by Armstrong's Map of Ayrshire, 'first published while Robert Burns was a young lad at Mount Oliphant, trying his prentice hand at poetry'. The six sheets, reproduced by John Bartholomew & Son, Ltd., show many of the places with which Burns was associated and other details of Ayrshire at that time. The critical survey of these maps by the editor, Dr John Strawhorn, and his other illuminating articles, give us a living picture of Ayrshire at a time 'when all kinds of interesting developments were afoot and were being remarked upon. It was the time when Ayrshire produced not only Robert Burns but a series of other celebrated sons—John Galt the novelist, James Boswell the biographer, William Murdoch the inventor, and John Loudon McAdam the roadmaker.' Ayrshire at that time is thus of interest to historian, sociologist and Burnsian alike.

The whole volume is a study of Burns against the background of his age and surroundings. This is excellently done by a double chronology, setting incidents in the poet's life alongside contemporary events. Professor De Lancey Ferguson's chronology of the poet's life is set against the chronology of world events compiled by the editor, obviously from much painstaking research.

In a letter to his cousin, James Burness, Montrose, the poet wrote from Lochlie—'Farming is also at a very low ebb with us. Our lands, generally speaking, are mountainous & barren; and our Landholders, full of ideas of farming gathered from the English, and the Lothians and other rich soils in Scotland, make no allowance for the odds of the quality of land, and consequently stretch us much beyond what, in the event, we will be found able to pay. We are also much at a loss for want of proper methods in our improvements of farming; necessity compels us to leave our old schemes, & few of us have opportunities of being well informed in new ones. In short, my dr Sir, since the unfortunate beginning of this American war, & its as unfortunate conclusion, this country has been, & still is decaying very fast.' This was written in 1783, but already, largely as a result of the Turnpike Road Acts of 1767 and 1774, the agricultural countryside was being transformed, as is shown in the article by Dr J. H. P. Lebon on the beginnings of the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions in Ayrshire, and in excerpts from contemporary writers. The improvement in the breed of Ayrshire cattle is shown in the excerpts



from Col. William Fullarton's Board of Agriculture Report for 1793. In that report he records that 'in order to prevent the danger arising from horned cattle in studs and straw yards, the best mode is to cut out the budding knob, or root of the horn while the calf is very young. This was suggested to me by Mr Robert Burns whose general talents are no less conspicuous than the poetic powers, which have done so much honour to the county where he was born.'

The Directory of Ayrshire from 1750 to 1800 contains statistical details of sheriffs, peers, members of parliament, freeholders, parish and other ministers and a variety of miscellaneous subjects. The *Gazetteer of Ayrshire* for the same period provides statistics of the parishes, towns and villages, estates and farms, and a variety of miscellanea, including Ayrshire weights and measures. Of special interest to Burns enthusiasts is the list of the poet's Ayrshire associates, compiled alphabetically with a brief note on each. So also is the frontispiece, 'The house in which Burns was born', 'drawn on the spot by William Score, aquatinted by Robert Scott, and published by Robert Chapman, Glasgow, 1801'. It is the earliest illustration of the Cottage.

There are articles on 'Local Administration in Ayrshire, 1750-1800', 'The Roup of the Lands of Alloway' [this was on 5 June 1754 and included Mount Oliphant], 'The Enclosure of the Town's Common of Ayr', and 'Tam's Road and Leezie's Pool', but to quote extracts from them would give but a faint impression of the value of the whole work. Of particular interest and importance is the article on 'The Speech of Ayrshire in the time of Burns', by David D. Murison, Editor of the *Scottish National Dictionary*. It is a most informative article, which he concludes thus—'In the social pictures and satires of the little world of Tarbolton and Mauchline, in the epistles and tales, in the greatest of his songs, the pithy raucle Scots of the Ayrshire farmer in the hands of genius transcends the shrinking limits which history and circumstance had imposed upon it and becomes for a few brief glorious moments the language of humanity.'

There is an excellent Bibliography and Index of Persons to complete what will be a mine of information to all who are interested in the economic, social and administrative developments of later eighteenth-century Ayrshire. Dr Strawhorn, the editor of this composite volume, and his editorial committee, are to be congratulated on producing so valuable a book.

JOHN McVIE.

A SOURCE BOOK OF SCOTTISH HISTORY. Edited by W. Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson, Isabel A. Milne. Revised and enlarged edition. Vol. I, From the Earliest Times to 1424. Pp. xi, 249; Vol. II, From 1424 to 1567. Pp. ix, 252. Edinburgh: Nelson. 1958. 21s. each volume.

It is a pleasure to welcome again the first two volumes of *A Source Book of Scottish History*, now in their second edition. In the six years that have elapsed since their first appearance, they have along with the third volume established themselves as indispensable for the study of Scottish history in the universities, training colleges and many of the senior secondary schools. Professor Croft Dickinson and his colleagues of the Scottish History department of Edinburgh University have taken advantage of the opportunity of a new edition to include many additional extracts and to expand or amend editorial prefaces, with the result that in each volume it has been found necessary to alter the pagination of the first edition.

In Volume I, which covers the period from the earliest times to 1424, the editors have now included material relating to Roman Scotland and they have added considerably to the source extracts and introductory comments in the section dealing with the early church. The section about the Wars of Independence has also been expanded: it is gratifying to see the Declaration of Arbroath in the polished Latin of the fourteenth century and accompanied by a seventeenth-century translation worthy of the original. A new footnote, referring to the divergent views about the site of the Battle of Bannockburn, gives a list of the more important contributions to this perennial discussion, to which might have been added a notice by Professor J. D. Mackie in this journal (*ante*, xxix, 207). But the 'battle of the site' still goes on, one of the latest pronouncements on the subject being that of a Scottish general, Sir Philip Christison. A notable addition in this volume is the section dealing with the agricultural organisation of fourteenth-century Scotland. There is such a wealth of material for the study of the medieval rural economy of England that many Scottish students tend to neglect the Scottish scene altogether. This section should whet their appetite for more.

The second volume (1424-1567) has been likewise revised and expanded, the editorial commentaries furnishing what is in effect almost a history of the century and a quarter before the Reformation. The interest in episcopacy aroused by the recent proposals for church union is reflected in the additional space devoted to the 'superintendents' of the Reformed Church. The inclusion of extracts from Ninian Winzet's *Tractatus* gives us an opportunity of assessing the part played by this redoubtable antagonist of John Knox. The editors have also added some passages, containing scathing criticism of the Church, from Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*. A new

feature, to be found in each volume, is an index, which should facilitate their use as books of reference.

In this year, when yet another blow has unfortunately been aimed at the teaching of history in the schools, there has been much concern expressed for the future of the subject; but there are some hopeful signs to be discerned, and among these must be reckoned the publication of these two volumes. The editors are to be congratulated in providing a valuable stimulus to the study of Scottish history at an advanced level. It is to be hoped that there will not be lacking in this generation of students many who will profit by it.

I. M. M. MACPHAIL.

The first place in the *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Volume XII, Part III is taken by a paper on the Polity of the Scottish Church, 1600-1637, by the Rev. A. Ian Dunlop, which forms a worthy sequel to the paper on the Polity of the Scottish Church, 1560-1600, by Dr Gordon Donaldson in Volume XI. After tracing the steps whereby from 1597 to 1612 king James re-established episcopacy, Mr Dunlop examines the functioning of General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries and Kirk-Sessions. He then sets out the evidence about ministers under such headings as Choice and Appointment, Trial by Presbytery, Ordination, Suspension and Deprivation, and about the procedure for the election, consecration and translation of bishops.

This is a careful and useful study, though one may question the statement on p. 178 that 'the exception to the rule that all ministers were episcopally ordained during the period 1610-1638 was John Forbes of Corse . . .'. Doubtless he was the most notable exception, but there were others. John Livingstone states that some ministers were admitted to office without 'conformity', and he provides evidence that such things were also happening in Ireland at this period. (Wodrow Society, *Select Biographies*, i, 136, 141). Indeed Mr Dunlop himself mentions (p. 180) what may be another case—that of William Row, younger, who was admitted 'fellow-helper' to his father in the ministry of Forgandenny in 1624, and on that occasion the Bishop of Dunkeld professed that he came not as a bishop but as a member of the presbytery, and that he would not ask a word but what was in the Psalm Book.

The Rev. Dr A. L. Drummond follows with a paper entitled Witherspoon of Gifford and American Presbyterianism. This doughty Scottish Evangelical who left his parish in Paisley to become President of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, was the only clergyman to sign the American Declaration of Independence. Dr Drummond gives due place to his notable career in America and also to his part in Scottish controversies, where his *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, published anonymously in 1753,

struck a resounding blow at the dominant Moderatism. But why call him Witherspoon of Gifford? His birth and upbringing in the manse of Yester in the village of Gifford scarcely justify that title. Witherspoon of Princeton, or even of Paisley, would be more apt. The statement (p. 195) that he co-operated with David Brainerd in founding schools for Red Indians can hardly be accurate, since Witherspoon went to America in 1768 while Brainerd died in 1747.

Mr Archibald Macwhirter has drawn upon information supplied by friends as well as upon published works for an interesting paper on the Church of the New Jerusalem in Scotland. The teachings of Swedenborg seem to have aroused a greater interest in Scotland than has ever been reflected in the membership of this small denomination.

Robert Boyd of Trochrigg, a Scottish scholar who had a happier career in France than in his native land, is the subject of a careful study by the Rev. Dr W. M. Campbell. He makes the interesting suggestion that some of the extreme Protestantism attributed to Brownist influence was really due to the return to Scotland of a considerable number of men who, like Boyd, had held posts in the Huguenot colleges in France. They were insistent on the right of free assembly which had proved so important for the Huguenots, and they were all the more inclined to take a resolute stand on points of presbyterian practice since they had known the challenge of governmental pressure and of Romanist infiltration in the Protestant districts of France.

The late Dr James L. Ainslie, President of the Society 1954-6, is the subject of a prefatory note by the Honorary Secretary, and the volume is also enriched by a chronological index of volumes I to XII of the Records. This appears to be the work of the Rev. A. Ian Dunlop. He deserves the thanks of students for, by grouping the papers under general headings such as Early Scottish Church, the Medieval Period, the Denominations, etc., he has made it easy to find what has been published in the Records about any particular period.

A number of small errors should be corrected. On p. 162, note 4, the page of the work cited should be 249 and not 195; on p. 164 line 8 from foot read 'desuetude'; on p. 185 the first footnote should refer to a statement in line 16 not line 3; on p. 193 line 14 read 1768 for 1786; on p. 227 line 13 read 'where' for 'who'.

S.M.

A paper of more than eighty pages on 'The sources for the life of St. Kentigern', by Professor Kenneth H. Jackson, is included in *Studies in the Early British Church*, edited by Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 375. 45s.). This

piece of detective work is a notable contribution not only to early Scottish historiography but to the history of southern Scotland in the dark ages. Professor Jackson has scrutinised minutely the fragmentary life of Kentigern compiled at the request of Bishop Herbert of Glasgow in the middle of the twelfth century, the biography by Jocelyn produced some thirty years later, an office of Kentigern in a thirteenth-century breviary and offices in the early sixteenth-century Aberdeen breviary, and he makes a series of brilliant deductions about older writings, no longer extant, from which those later accounts of Kentigern derived their information. 'Scottic' material, the product of the Gaelic penetration into Strathclyde in the eleventh century, is distinguished from material composed in a Cumbric context before or immediately after the end of the independent kingdom of Strathclyde; and those materials are disentangled from the work of 'a Gaelic cleric' who showed quite remarkable local knowledge of the Lothians and from an 'independent document hailing from the Scottic church of St. Servanus' which discloses 'a good knowledge of the country north of the Firth of Forth and round the river basin in the neighbourhood of Stirling'. In the course of his investigations, Professor Jackson discusses, and it is to be hoped finally decides, many vexed points, not only in the interpretation of place names and personal names but in the location of places and the identification of persons. Thus Kepdud is the Gaelic and Dumpelder the Cumbric, name for Traprain Law; Kentigern was a Cumbric name, perhaps translatable as 'Hound-like Lord', but was given a Gaelic etymology as 'Head Lord'; and the saint's pet-name, Mungo, likewise had a dual etymology, for the foundation was the prefix 'mo' (=my) followed by 'Cu', which was a reduced form of the saint's full name but happened to mean 'dear' or 'beloved' in Welsh. Aberlessic is identified with the mouth of the East Lothian Tyne, and 'St. Serf's Bridge' with a spit of rocks running out from the south bank of the Forth at Throsk. In an appendix Professor Jackson deals with the theories advanced by Mr John McQueen in *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxiii (1956).

G. D.

The *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603*, edited by Dr Conyers Read, and first published in 1933, has now appeared in a second, revised and expanded edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xxviii, 624. 1959. 63s.) which contains some 2,000 additional entries of works published prior to 1 January 1957. It has also been possible to include a number of books and articles which appeared after that *terminus ad quem*. Interestingly, the editor notes that, since the appearance of the first edition, 'significant

contributions to Scottish, Welsh, and particularly Irish history have been relatively more numerous than those to English history. It is somewhat surprising to discover that additions to ecclesiastical history have been relatively more numerous than those to economic history.' That the Scottish section (pp. 410-77) has been revised and enlarged by Dr Gordon Donaldson is a sufficient guarantee of its accuracy and competence.

Although, here and there, certain omissions and certain inclusions could be questioned, this work is a monument of patient scholarship and is an indispensable tool for all workers within the period which it covers. Possibly, when a third edition is prepared, the massive and many-volumed *London Bibliography of the Social Sciences* should be included under 'Bibliographies' (pp. 1-2) or in the bibliographical section of 'Economic History' (p. 213). Under the heading 'Marches and Borders' (p. 116) we are warned that 'the Border ballads should not be neglected'; but surely T. F. Henderson's edition of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1932), with its valuable historical notes, could have been cited.

#### PERIODICAL NOTES

The *Report of Proceedings* of the Scottish Society of the History of Medicine for the session 1958-59 contains a valuable, interesting and well-documented paper by Dr John Ritchie on 'The Influence of Folk-Medicine on the Early Use of Digitalis'. Other papers in the *Report* include biographical notes on 'Thomas Trotter, Physician to the Fleet', 'Granville Sharp Pattison, the Argumentative Anatomist', and 'Dr Robert Watt, compiler of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*'.

The *Innes Review*, Vol. ix, No. II, contains a transcript, by the Rev. Mark Dilworth, O.S.B., of two necrologies of Scottish Benedictine abbeys in Germany. The editor's biographical notes are interesting and valuable. The Rev. W. J. Anderson contributes a note on 'Three Sixteenth-Century Scottish Missals'—two printed in Paris, 1521, 1550; and one printed in Lyons, 1534 × 1540. There are some excellent reproductions of pages from the missal used at Paisley Abbey (including one of the calendar for April, showing an inserted obit of Archbishop John Hamilton); and, to accompany the necrologies, there is a reproduction of the tombstone of Ninian Winyet in the Church of St. James, Ratisbon.

*Scottish Studies*, Vol. 3, Part 2 (1959) contains an interesting article by Ian Whitaker on 'Some Traditional Techniques in Modern Scottish Farming'. The techniques examined are the use of the *cas chrom* and the tillage of the land by delving, and the shieling system<sup>1</sup>, still practised in Lewis, and here briefly described with a number of interim distribution maps.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, xxxviii, 20-35.



## Notes and Comments

THE LAST CHAMBERLAIN AYRE. Under James I the Great Chamberlain of Scotland yielded his financial powers to the Treasurer and Comptroller and by the Act 1535 c. 35 the supervision of the finances of the royal burghs was vested in the Lords Auditors of Exchequer (*A.P.S.*, ii, 349). During the intervening century the Chamberlain's judicial powers had also fallen into desuetude and the Chamberlain Ayre had ceased to be held. The office survived the loss of its chief functions, being held under successive hereditary grants, the last to Charles, Duke of Lennox, in 1680. As he does not appear to have acted, the last holder of the office was the Duke of Monmouth, who obtained a grant of it for life on 1 February 1673 (*R.M.S.*, Paper Register, Vol. 9, No. 236). After the Union, however, Queen Anne granted a commission on 15 November 1711 to certain persons to execute the office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland (*ibid.*, Vol. 16, No. 4). This commission appears to have been ineffective, but in 1714 a body with similar powers, known as the Lords of Police, was established, which existed for about seventy years (*ibid.*, Vol. 16, No. 79).

It has been assumed that the Chamberlain Ayre was last held in February 1511/12 at Dundee, Perth and Cupar (*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, iv, 370; *Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, 393). But there are two references, hitherto unnoticed, to a Chamberlain Ayre being held at Edinburgh in 1517. The first relates to the delivery of the porteous roll, containing the indictments, to the provost on 9 July 1517—

'My lord Flemyng chaumerlane askit instrument that he deliverit the portuis of the chaumerlane air to David Mailuile provest of Edinburgh and desyrit that he suld gif his responce therof betuix and Setterday nixt tocum. Hora predicta.' (*A.D.C.*, Vol. xxx, fo. 77.)

The second reference shows that the Ayre was actually held. In his account rendered on 7 September 1517, John Campbell of Thornton, the Treasurer, was charged with £33 3s. 4d. 'in part payment of the Chamberlain Ayre of Edinburgh' held in 1517, 'apart from the Lord Chamberlain's expenses assigned to him by the Lord King's letters' (*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, v, 109). That a passage which has been in print for a number of years should have escaped notice is easily explained. There is no reference to it whatsoever in the index of the volume in question.

ATHOL MURRAY.

A NEW EXEMPLAR OF ANDREW DE TANGE'S 'GREAT ROLL OF SCOTLAND' AT EXETER CATHEDRAL. In a previous number of this *Review* allusion was made to a lost exemplar of the 'Great Roll' of the notary, Andrew de Tange, the former existence of which could be inferred from a later transcript in the British Museum, and which corresponded in detail to neither of the exemplars now existing in the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> This missing roll has now been found in the library of Exeter Cathedral by the archivist, Mrs Audrey Erskine, to whom I am indebted for the opportunity to examine it for the purpose of this note.

The discovery is of unexpected interest since the text of the Exeter roll is perfect throughout its length. The P.R.O. copies, on the other hand, have suffered from their much more frequent use during the centuries when they were accessible in the Tower of London, so that the early part of one is severely mutilated, and that of the other barely legible. Prynne, of course, printed the whole text from one of the Tower rolls at a time when it could still all be read,<sup>2</sup> and so the new roll has nothing to add to our record evidence; but it is, none the less, a very welcome surprise to recover this undamaged roll, which is almost as clean and legible as when it was written for Edward II. 'The most magnificent record of king Edward's justice'<sup>3</sup> may now be seen to better advantage at Exeter than in Chancery Lane.

Exeter Cathedral, Dean and Chapter MS. 2982 is a parchment roll eighteen inches wide and about sixty-five feet long, written on one side only, in what is undoubtedly the hand of Andrew de Tange. It has thirty-two membranes, whereas the P.R.O. exemplars have thirty-four and forty-two respectively; the fact that the British Museum transcript had avowedly been copied from an original with thirty-two membranes made it certain from the beginning that the third exemplar had once existed. How this roll came to be at Exeter is quite unknown. It has been there since the eighteenth century, as is shown by an endorsement in the hand of Charles Lyttleton, Dean of Exeter from 1748 to 1763, in which, incidentally, there occurs the first use known to the present writer of the term 'Great Cause'. Walter de Stapledon, bishop of Exeter from 1308 to 1326, had an exemplar of Tange's Great Roll on loan from the Treasury in 1320, but this is merely a curious coincidence, since it is certain that the roll which he held was one of the present P.R.O. copies.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the British Museum transcript dates from the

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, xxxv, 94, and n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Prynne, *History of King John* (etc.), iii (1670), 487-543 (not 503, as stated *ante*, xxxv, 92, n. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2nd ed.), i, 218. The reference is to John of Caen's less imposing rolls!

<sup>4</sup> Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii, No. 728.

early fifteenth century, and on the whole it is likely that the roll found its way to oblivion in Exeter after, rather than before, the making of the transcript. Unfortunately, the new roll has no medieval endorsements, and we are still unable to say, even now that we possess all three exemplars, which of them was originally assigned to the chancery, which to the exchequer, and which to the wardrobe.

E. L. G. STONES.

**KILWHINLIK IN BUTE.** In 1449 Kilconlik: in 1506 Kilquhonlik. (*Origines Parochiales*, ii, pt. i, 226, 237.)

Assuming that, as usual, the second part is a saint's name, I suggest that the dedication was to St. Conall, the Convallus of the Life of St. Kentigern (cf. Watson, *Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, 169), a saint venerated in the district between Clyde and Solway. The Litany of Dunkeld mentions a King Convallec (Forbes, *Kalendars*, appendix to preface, p. lx), where *-ec* may be a mis-copying for *-oc* or *-ac* the affectionate diminutive suffix, and this may be the form preserved in Kilconlik, Kilquhonlik, i.e. Cill Chonallaig, with syncope of the unstressed penultimate. The *i* in *-whinleck* seems unexplained; it may be due to the influence of Lowland Scots.

Convallus, said to have been a disciple of St. Kentigern, was patron saint of Inchinnan to which place his relics attracted pilgrims. At Inchinnan a boulder now known as the 'Argyll Stone' was formerly called 'St. Conallie's Stone' (*New Statistical Account*, vii, 128 note). This suggests an earlier Clach Chonallaich and this form of the saint's name gave rise to a rare personal name. In 1541 Gilhonale McMark was a tenant in Tiree (*Exchequer Rolls*, xvii, 615, 648). In 1636 Donald and Malcolm Mcilconelliche were tenants of Balle Mcilconelliche in South Kintyre and four others of the same surname were in other farms in that district. (Kintyre Rentals in Inveraray Castle, transcribed by A. I. B. Stewart.) In the next century the spelling is McIlconnelie, McConailhy, McConley and Conely according to the fancy of the scribe: it became fixed as in my own surname early in the nineteenth century.

W. M. CONLEY.

**FASTI ECCLESIAE SCOTICANAE MEDII AEVI.** The attention of all workers on Scottish Medieval Church History and especially of those who handle original documents, either not yet published or, as has often happened, not published completely but omitting sometimes lists of witnesses, is called to a new important project. A 'First Draft' entitled *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi* can be had from the editor, Mr Donald E. R. Watt, of St. Andrews University, at the very modest price of 7s. 6d. This contains a list of all the dignitaries of Scottish Cathedral Chapters—Deans, Chancellors, Treasurers, Officials, Precentors, as well as Sub-Deans and Succen-

tors and Archdeacons and Deans of Christianity. To each name is added an exact reference to the earliest known and latest known date of the documentary evidence of their possession of that status; only in some cases do we have a record of their provision or resignation or death.

Since 1912, through the publication of Bishop Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, edited by Maitland Thomson, we have had a scholarly working list of Bishops; it has been at many points corrected in the summary list in Powicke, Johnson and Harte's *Handbook of British Chronology* (Royal Historical Society, 1939) which will receive further improvements when a new edition appears. Only one diocese, Dunblane, through the diligence of Dr Hutchison Cockburn (*The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church*, Edinburgh, 1959), has a modern list of its Cathedral clergy at all adequate for a work of reference. His lists are more ambitious and extend to Canons, and even to chaplains, notaries and 'others'. But the present more limited project, restricted to 'Dignitates' but covering the thirteen dioceses of Scotland, is large enough to need the generous collaboration of many scholars before it can reach publishable form. It has at present 98 foolscap pages of typescript.

It is easy to ask for more. A minor dignitary in a cathedral chapter might attain higher status elsewhere: John Stevenson, Precentor of Glasgow, could become Provost of the Collegiate Church of Biggar; and the other Provosts of Collegiate Churches certainly have the next claim on our attention. Indeed this project ought to be regarded as part of one much more ambitious. Dr Hew Scott's great series, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, now in eight and soon to be in nine volumes, aims at being a complete list of parochial benefices and their post-Reformation incumbents. No such work for medieval Scotland could hope to attain completeness; it would indeed be very incomplete but also very useful, for part of the function of a work of historical reference is to record our present ignorance, part to act as a stimulus to further research, and part to prevent the waste of valuable time by a scholar who might wonder if some already published source, perhaps locally or privately printed, of which he is quite inculpably ignorant might contain information about the incumbents of a particular parish. Writers of local history and of family history have assiduously studied Scott's *Fasti*, and even at times have relied too much upon it. They will find something for them even in the present 'First Draft'. They are certainly in great need of anything similar to Scott which can be produced for the medieval period. Their help in completing the present limited but most useful list would be most warmly welcomed.

W. J. ANDERSON

